

Donationer af tid og penge

Fem sociologiske studier af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver

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Donationer af tid og penge

Fem sociologiske studier af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver

Erik Petrovski



Ph.d.-afhandling

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Thomas P. Boje (vejleder) – Lars Skov Henriksen (bivejleder)

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Forord

Denne ph.d.-afhandling er tilknyttet forskningsprojektet *Den samfundsøkonomiske betydning af civil- og nonprofitsektoren i Danmark*, som er udført sammen med professor Thomas P. Boje og ph.d.-stipendiat Jonathan Hermansen. Det er til dels dette forskningsprojekts samfundsøkonomiske tilgang, der har motiveret mig til at studere frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver nærmere som to vigtige bidrag til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren. Mit arbejde med afhandlingen er desuden præget af input fra forskere i CiFri, Netværk for forskning i civilsamfund og frivillighed.

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*Erik Petrovski
København, 2016*

Indholdsfortegnelse

Oversigt over afhandlingens artikler	4
Indledning	5
Betydningen af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver	5
Omfang	6
Status på forskningen.....	7
Forskningsspørgsmål	9
Læsevejledning	10
Forskningsfelt.....	11
Frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren.....	11
Frivilligt arbejde	13
Pengegaver	16
Teori	17
Personlighedstræk og værdier	17
Normer	19
Sociale roller	20
Økonomiske ressourcer	21
Humane, sociale og kulturelle ressourcer	22
Motiver og afkast.....	26
Empiri	28
Data	28
Empiriske mål for frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver	28
Oversigt over artiklernes emner, data og metoder	29
Resultater	30
En social profil af de frivillige	30
Frivilligt arbejde som en investering	33
En social profil af giverne.....	35
Konklusion	37
Resumé.....	41
Summary in English.....	43
Litteraturliste	45

Oversigt over afhandlingens artikler

Denne ph.d.-afhandling er baseret på fem artikler. Artiklernes titler, udgivelsesstatus og navn på eventuelle medforfattere fremgår nedenfor:

1. **“Volunteers Come from Educated Homes: The Link Between Parents’ Level of Education and Their Adult Children’s Propensity to Perform Volunteer Work”**

Manuskript

2. **“Volunteer Care Workers: A Case for Challenging Resource Theories on Volunteering”**

Forfattet sammen med Charlotte Overgaard & Jonathan Hermansen

Under fagfællebedømmelse i *Journal of Civil Society*

Præsenteret på ARNOVA’s 44th Annual Conference, Chicago, USA

3. **“De stabile frivillige: Betydningen af kapitalressourcer, livsfaser og organisatorisk kontekst for vedvarende frivilligt arbejde”**

Publiceret i *Dansk Sociologi* nr. 2/26. årgang, 2015

4. **“The Effect of Volunteer Work on Employability: A Study with Danish Administrative Register and Survey Data”**

Forfattet sammen med Sofie Dencker-Larsen & Anders Holm

Under fagfællebedømmelse i *European Sociological Review*

Præsenteret på ISTR’s 12th International Conference, Stockholm, Sverige

5. **“Whether and How Much to Give: Uncovering the Contrasting Determinants of the Decisions of Whether and How Much to Give to Charity with Two-Part Alternatives to the Prevailing Tobit Model”**

Accepteret til publikation i *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*

Præsenteret på ARNOVA’s 44th Annual Conference, Chicago, USA

Indledning

Emnet for denne ph.d.-afhandling er frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver. Mere specifikt, så søger afhandlingen at forstå de faktorer, der påvirker individers valg om at donere deres tid eller penge til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, samt hvilken betydning dette valg har for donorerne selv. Afhandlingen er en artikelsamling bestående af fem artikler, som hver undersøger en afgrænset problemstilling, der er relateret til dele af afhandlingens emne.

Det empiriske datamateriale udgøres af dansk surveydata af høj kvalitet fra Frivillighedsundersøgelserne 2004 & 2012, som begge er beriget med registerdata på individniveau fra Danmarks Statistik. Det teoretiske udgangspunkt er Musick & Wilsons *integrerede teori* – også kendt som *ressourceteorien* – der anvendes til at forklare forskellige aspekter af deltagelsen i og afkastet ved frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver med udgangspunkt i økonomiske, humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer. I de enkelte artikler suppleres den integrerede teori desuden med beslægtede teorier om personligheder, værdier, normer, sociale roller og employability.

En nærmere afgrænsning af forskningsfeltet samt redegørelse for teorier og empiri følger efter den resterende indledning. For at tydeliggøre relevansen af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver som forskningsfelt gives der dog først en oversigt over betydningen og omfanget af disse aktiviteter i Danmark. Herpå følger en introduktion til den danske og internationale forskning, som afhandlingen udspringer af. Disse afsnit udmunder i afhandlingens overordnede forskningsspørgsmål.

Betydningen af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver

Frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver til fordel for frivillig- og nonprofitorganisationer – det vil sige frivillige foreninger, organisationer, selvejende institutioner og fonde – er blandt andet betydningsfulde, fordi de bidrager til at producere en række *offentlige goder*¹, som er til nytte for samfundet generelt. Bidrag til sociale foreninger såsom Dansk Flygtningehjælp, Frelsens Hær og Mødrehjælpen er for eksempel vigtige for, at disse organisationer kan tage hånd om samfundets udsatte borgere. Sådanne sociale aktiviteter er i stigende grad blevet relevante som et supplement til den offentlige velfærdsindsats i takt med, at velfærdsstaten siden udgangen af 1970'erne er blevet underlagt løbende besparelser (Henriksen & Bundesen 2004). Bidrag til fordel for frivillig- og nonprofitsektorens såkaldte *ekspresive* aktiviteter (såsom idræt, fritid, kultur og lignende) er desuden vigtige for samfundets kulturelle liv (Salamon et al. 2003). Det er blandt andet i kraft af frivillige bidrag, at idrætsforeninger kan tilbyde

¹ Det kan argumenteres, at mange af disse goder i virkeligheden er *kvasi-offentlige*. Det vil sige, at den frivillige eller giveren er både bidragsyder og forbruger af godet og dermed har en egeninteresse i godet fremskaffelse (Aligica 2016; Olson 1971). Det kan være tilfældet i en fodboldforening, hvor medlemmer både er frivillige og spillere. Den grundlæggende idé med et offentligt gode er dog intakt: den frivillige eller giveren producerer et gode som ikke *kun* vedkommende selv konsumerer.

sportsaktiviteter til børn og unge, at naturforeninger kan tilbyde guidede vandreture i nationalparker, og at lokalhistoriske foreninger kan tilbyde rundvisninger i gamle bygninger og bydele. Sådanne ekspressive aktiviteter nyder en bred politisk opbakning, hvilket konkret ses ved, at området modtager omfattende offentlig støtte gennem tips- og lottomidler samt folkeoplysningsmidlerne (Ibsen & Eichberg 2014). Og endeligt så er bidrag til for eksempel partier og interesseorganisationer med til at fremme politiske interesser eller særinteresser for marginaliserede grupper såsom handicappede og de psykisk sårbare. Disse til dels frivilligt drevne organisationer er vigtige for det generelle demokratiske liv og er særlige for den danske (eller skandinaviske) demokratiske model, hvor en repræsentation af særinteresser i den politiske proces sikres gennem betydelig folkelig deltagelse (Andersen 2004; Newton 1997).

Frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren er ikke blot vigtig for det omkringliggende samfund, men er i høj grad også vigtig for de personer, der er en del af den. Foruden at producere *offentlige goder* til nytte for det generelle samfund, så forventes det nemlig, at frivillige bidrag af tid og penge på forskellig vis medfører *private goder*, der er til nytte for de frivillige og giverne selv. Det antages for eksempel, at et vigtigt afkast ved at give sin tid og penge bort er en varm følelse (*warm glow*), som ultimativt bidrager til vores gode samvittighed (Andreoni 1990). At give sin tid eller penge bort kan desuden medføre social anerkendelse fra andre, eftersom tilsyneladende uselviske handlinger tildeles stor værdi i samfundet (Andreoni 2006; Vesterlund 2006). Det fremhæves også, at muligheden for at kunne bidrage til en fælles og betydningsfuld sag gennem frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver udgør et bidrag til givernes selvidentitet (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003; Lee et al. 1999). Endeligt så fremhæves det, at engagement i frivilligt arbejde kan give afkast på det betalte arbejdsmarked gennem en forøget employability for den frivillige (Spera et al. 2015).

I betragtning af at frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver er til nytte for både samfundet generelt men også de frivillige og giverne selv ved hjælp af produktionen af en lang række offentlige og private goder, så må det siges at være stærkt relevant med en videnskabelig forståelse af deltagelsen i og betydningen af disse aktiviteter.

Omfang

Forskningsfeltet er desuden relevant, fordi frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren er særligt omfangsrig og derfor kan antages at producere de offentlige og private goder, der blev nævnt i det tidligere afsnit, i stort omfang. Dette ses på tal fra forskningsprojektet *Den samfundsøkonomiske betydning af civil- og nonprofitsektoren i Danmark*, som denne ph.d.-afhandling er tilknyttet. Når frivillig- og nonprofitsektorens udgifter opgøres (inklusive potentielle udgifter til frivilligt arbejde) udgør sektoren hele 9,6 %² af BNP

² Dette og de følgende nøgletal fra rapporten “*Den samfundsøkonomiske betydning af civilsamfundet og nonprofit aktiviteter i Danmark*” må betragtes som midlertidige, da rapporten i skrivende stund ikke er endeligt udgivet. Se Boje et al. 2017 for de endelige tal.

(Boje et al. 2017). Ifølge det internationale *Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project* (CNP), som den danske undersøgelse oprindeligt udspringer af, så ligger det tal væsentlig over gennemsnittet for andre vestlige lande, som er på 5,1 % af BNP (Salamon et al. 2003).

For at frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren kan opretholde sig selv – og dermed opfylde sine samfundsmæssige funktioner – har den, ligesom andre sektorer, brug for at få tilført tilstrækkeligt med ressourcer. Her er sektoren særlig i mindst én forstand: Modsat den offentlige sektor, der finansieres over skatter og afgifter, og den private sektor, der tjener ind på markedet, så er frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren til dels afhængig af frivillige bidrag fra privatpersoner, der ikke direkte bliver kompenseret herfor (Salamon & Anheier 1997; Salamon et al. 2003). Der er to måder som privatpersoner kan vælge at bidrage til sektoren på: Ved at donere deres tid (arbejde frivilligt) eller deres penge (give pengegaver).

Data fra Frivillighedsundersøgelsen 2012, som denne ph.d.-afhandling overvejende er baseret på, viser, at 35 % af den danske befolkning i alderen 16 til 85 år har arbejdet frivilligt inden for det seneste år – og i gennemsnit arbejder de frivillige 16 timer om måneden (Fridberg 2014c). Med andre ord så arbejder en tredjedel af alle danskere i gennemsnit en halv arbejdsdag ekstra hver uge uden at modtage betaling herfor. Hvis disse personer derimod havde modtaget betaling for deres frivillige arbejde, ville lønomkostningerne for denne arbejdsindsats udgøre 41,4 milliarder kroner (Hermansen 2017).

Alligevel er det ikke med frivilligt arbejde, at flest danskere bidrager til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, men derimod pengegaver (*også kendt som donationer*) til frivillige foreninger og organisationer. Frivillighedsundersøgelsen 2012 viser, at hele 71 % af alle danskere har givet pengegaver inden for det seneste år, og de har i gennemsnit givet et beløb på 1.964 kroner fordelt over hele året. Det betyder, at danskerne donerer 6,3 milliarder kroner til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren på et år (Petrovski 2017).

Medregnes både frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver, så er det altså hele 81 % af befolkningen, der vælger at bidrage til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren og dermed enten finansielt eller ved hjælp af deres arbejdskraft er investeret i sektoren. Lægges værdien af de to aktiviteter sammen, så er der tale om 47,7 milliarder kroner om året. Ud fra en erkendelse af, at bidrag til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren er af så relativt stort omfang, så må det altså siges, at det er stærkt relevant for samfundsvidenskabelige undersøgelser såsom denne ph.d.-afhandling at sætte fokus på disse aktiviteter.

Status på forskningen

Eftersom frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver er både betydningsfulde og omfangsrige, så er det ikke overraskende, at der findes en bred samfundsvidenskabelig indsats rettet mod at forstå, hvad der driver sådanne frivillige bidrag, samt hvad disse bidrag konkret betyder for samfundet og den enkelte frivillige eller giver (Wilson 2000).

Siden 1980'erne har der således eksisteret en dansk samfundsvidenskabelig interesse i især frivilligt arbejde (Henriksen & Ibsen 2001). Fra den tid og frem findes der en række overvejende kvalitative og historiske studier, der dog fokuserer overvejende på de frivillige organisationer, de frivilliges tilknytning til organisationerne samt forholdet mellem de frivillige organisationer og den offentlige sektor (f.eks. Anker 1995; Henriksen 1995; Fridberg 1997; Villadsen & Gruber 1997; Klausen 2002; Henriksen & Bundesen 2004; Hjære 2005; Ibsen 2006; La Cour & Højlund 2008). Men i forbindelse med at der i 2004 og igen i 2012 foretages landsdækkende survey med fokus på frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver – de såkaldte Frivillighedsundersøgelser – bliver der også udgivet en række kvantitative studier – foretaget af forskere fra CiFri-netværket – som overvejende har været fokuseret på at fastlægge omfanget af det frivillige arbejde samt at forklare deltagelsen i det frivillige arbejde med udgangspunkt i især de frivilliges sociale profil (f.eks. Inger Koch-Nielsen 2006; Boje & Ibsen 2006; Frederiksen, Henriksen, & Qvist 2014; Fridberg 2014b; Fridberg & Henriksen 2014; Hermansen & Boje 2015; Frederiksen & Møberg 2015; Qvist 2015). Dette fokus på de frivilliges sociale profil genfindes i høj grad i de sociologiske studier, der er foretaget af frivilligt arbejde internationalt (Wilson 2012).

Disse empiriske studier af de frivilliges sociale profil er typisk motiveret af den integrerede teori om frivilligt arbejde, som også er kendt som ressourceteorien. Denne teori blev grundlagt af de to amerikanske sociologer John Wilson og Marc Musick med deres 1997-artikel *“Who Cares? Towards an Integrated Theory of Volunteer Work”*, som er udgivet i *American Sociological Review*. Den efterfølgende brug af ressourceteorien har været så omfattende i det sociologiske studie af frivilligt arbejde, at selvom der også findes andre forklaringsmodeller, så kan ressourceteorien betragtes som et paradigme for den sociologiske forskning på området (Chambré & Einolf 2008; Einolf & Chambré 2011). Teoriens grundantagelse er, at det kan være attraktivt for mange mennesker at arbejde frivilligt: blandt andet fordi de ønsker at bidrage til samfundets sociale, kulturelle eller politiske udvikling (Musick & Wilson 2008), fordi frivilligt arbejde kan bidrage til en god samvittighed (Andreoni 1990), kan være en vej til selvrealisering (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003), eller kan styrke vores status på det betalte arbejdsmarked (Wilson & Musick 2003). Men selvom mange måske ønsker at arbejde frivilligt, så er det ressourcekrævende at udøve frivilligt arbejde, og derfor er det i højere grad de ressourcestærke individer, der har muligheden herfor (Musick & Wilson 2008). Nærmere bestemt: Fordi frivillige producerer ydelser såsom lektiehjælp eller fodboldtræning, så kræver frivilligt arbejde humane kapitalressourcer som uddannelse og erhvervserfaring. Fordi frivilligt arbejde er en social aktivitet, så kræver det sociale kapitalressourcer såsom sociale netværk, hvorigennem man blandt andet kan blive værget til frivilligt arbejde. Og endeligt fordi frivilligt arbejde er etisk styret, kræver det kulturelle kapitalressourcer såsom værdier, der vægter velgørenhed (Wilson & Musick 1997).

Afhandlingens afsæt i den aktuelle empiriske og teoretiske forskningslitteratur er overvejende dette sociologiske fokus på de frivilliges sociale profil (Musick & Wilson 2008; D. H. Smith 1994; Wilson & Musick 1997). Her vil afhandlingen gøre brug af det nyeste danske survey- og registerdata til at forstå forholdet mellem specifikke humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer på den ene side og forskellige aspekter af individers frivillige arbejde på den anden.

Afhandlingen inkluderer desuden pengegaver i sit forskningsfelt. Som beskrevet findes der et vist dansk forskningsmæssigt fokus på det frivillige arbejde. Dette fokus har dog kun i yderst begrænset omfang inkluderet studiet af pengegaver. Ud over to kapitler fra de SFI-rapporter, der opsummerer resultater fra de to bølger af Frivillighedsundersøgelserne (Inger Koch- Nielsen 2006; Taxhjem 2014), findes der – så vidt vides – ingen tidligere videnskabelige undersøgelser af pengegaver, foretaget på baggrund af dansk data. Det står i klar kontrast til den internationale forskning i nonprofit, hvor de to aktiviteter (frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver) er nogenlunde ligeligt repræsenteret. I et af de højest rangerende tidsskrifter på området, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, findes der i skrivende stund 1.218 artikler om frivilligt arbejde og 1.353 artikler om pengegaver (heraf omhandler 477 artikler begge aktiviteter). Ses studiet af bidrag til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren i internationalt perspektiv, så er pengegaver altså stærkt underrepræsenteret i dansk forskning. Det er et problem, at vi ikke inddrager pengegaver mere i de sociologiske studier af frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren i Danmark, da vi mangler en forståelse af, hvad der driver en af de to unikke bidragskilder til sektoren.

Valget om at inkludere både donationer af tid og penge i afhandlingens fokus sker ud fra en målsætning om at opnå en bedre forståelse af endnu en vigtig indtægtskilde for den danske frivillig- og nonprofitsektor. Her vil afhandlingen, ligesom med frivilligt arbejde, undersøge hvorvidt og hvordan humane, sociale, kulturelle og også økonomiske kapitalressourcer påvirker beslutning om at give pengegaver.

Forskningsspørgsmål

Denne ph.d.-afhandling vil bidrage til en større forståelse af de faktorer, der påvirker individers valg om at donere deres tid og penge til fordel for frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, samt hvilken betydning dette valg har for donorerne selv. Fordi afhandlingen tager sit primære udgangspunkt i den integrerede teori, vil det overordnede fokus være på at undersøge hvorvidt og hvordan økonomiske, humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer på den ene side påvirker forskellige aspekter af valget om at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver og på den anden side bliver påvirket af netop dette valg (Bekkers 2004; Musick & Wilson 2008; Wiepking & Maas 2009; Wilson & Musick 1997; 1999; 2003).

Følgende overordnede forskningsspørgsmål adresseres dermed:

Hvorvidt og hvordan påvirker kapitalressourcer individers beslutning om at donere deres tid eller penge til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren?

Samt:

Hvilken betydning har valget om at donere sin tid for den frivilliges egen beholdning af kapitalressourcer?

Disse overordnede forskningsspørgsmål adresseres gennem fem separate artikler, der er sigtet mod udgivelse i fagfællebedømte videnskabelige tidsskrifter. Artiklerne beskæftiger sig hver især med specifikke og afgrænsede problemstillinger, der kan grupperes under disse to overordnede forskningsspørgsmål. Det skal dog understreges, at artiklerne ikke vil kunne give en udtømmende besvarelse på disse omfattende forskningsspørgsmål, men de vil – på linje med resten af forskningen – kunne *bidrage* væsentligt til en besvarelse af disse centrale spørgsmål.

Læsevejledning

Læseren har nu fået en generel motivation og introduktion til emnefeltet, denne afhandlings plads i en større kontekst af dansk og international forskning samt de oveordnede forskningsspørgsmål, som afhandlingen vil besvare. Der følger nu en mere detaljeret afgrænsning og begrebsliggørelse af forskningsfeltet. Herefter følger en flerdisciplinær oversigt over den teoretiske tilgang, der ligger til grund for de enkelte artikler. En gennemgang af den empiriske tilgang følger derefter med en oversigt over datamaterialet og de afgrænsede emner, som de enkelte artikler beskæftiger sig med. Til sidst findes der et resumé af og en konklusion på artiklernes enkeltstående resultater, som vil blive sat i en sammenhæng, der gør det muligt at adressere afhandlingen forskningsspørgsmål.

Forskningsfelt

Ph.d.-afhandlingens forskningsfelt udgøres af tre forskellige fænomener: frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver. Dette afsnit afgrænser og begrebsliggøre disse fænomener nærmere, så de kan gøres til genstand for en videnskabelig undersøgelse.

Frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren

Fordi en grundlæggende karakteristik af den typiske organisatoriske ramme om frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver kan bidrage til en bedre forståelse af disse aktiviteter, giver der nu en begrebsafklaring for frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren³.

Frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren udgøres af de mange private organisationer, der blandt andet benytter sig af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver til at producere offentlige goder såsom fysisk udfoldelse, kulturel berigelse, uddannelse, interesserepræsentation og meget mere (O'Neill 1989). Disse organisationer hører hverken til i staten eller på markedet – altså hverken i den offentlige eller den generelle private sektor. Specifikt er der tale om en broget skare af både små og store organisationer med mange forskelligartede formål såsom fodboldklubber, spejderbevægelser, politiske partier, protestbevægelser, velgørende fonde, friskoler, internationale hjælpeorganisationer og mange flere (Boje et al. 2006; Salamon & Anheier 1992b).

Selvom der er store åbenlyse forskelle på disse organisationer, er det dog muligt at udpege bestemte karakteristika ved disse organisationers overordnede strukturer og drift, der adskiller dem fra samfundets andre organisationer, som er hjemmehørende i enten den private eller den offentlige sektor (Salamon & Anheier 1992b). Denne tilgang følger den såkaldte "*structural/operational definition*", som ligger til grund for arbejdet i *The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP)* (Salamon & Anheier 1997; Salamon et al. 2003), hvorfra de lignende danske undersøgelser, som denne ph.d.-afhandling er tilknyttet, udspringer (Boje & Ibsen 2006; Boje et al. 2006, 2017; Ibsen & Habermann 2006). Frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren kan ifølge *CNP* defineres som en samling af organisationer, der lever op til følgende fem kriterier:

1. *Formel*: Organisationen skal have en institutionel realitet. Det kan for eksempel demonstreres ved, at organisationen har nedskrevne vedtægter eller regelmæssigt afholder møder og aktiviteter.
2. *Privat*: Organisationen er ikke en del af eller direkte underlagt kontrol fra den offentlige sektor. Det betyder dog ikke, at den ikke kan modtage dele eller samtlige sine finanser fra den offentlige sektor.

³ Artiklerne i denne ph.d.-afhandling beskæftiger sig kun indirekte med frivillige- og nonprofitorganisationer (primært artikel 2 og 3), men sektoren som sådan har jeg beskæftiget mig med i projektet "*Den samfundsøkonomiske betydning af civil- og nonprofitsektoren i Danmark*", som afhandlingen er tilknyttet (se Boje et al. 2016).

3. *Ikke profit-fordelende*: Det primære formål med organisationen er ikke at generere overskud til sine ejere eller investorer men at geninvestere et eventuelt overskud for at nå organisationens mål.
4. *Selvstyrende*: Organisationen er i stand til egenhændigt at styre egne affærer og kan ophøre med at eksistere på eget initiativ.
5. *Frivillige*: Medlemskab eller deltagelse i organisationen skal være frivilligt og ikke altså ikke tvungen på nogen måde.

I Danmark findes der tre distinkte organisationsformer, som lever op til kriterierne ovenfor og dermed kan siges at udgøre frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren: frivillige foreninger og organisationer, selvejende institutioner og fonde.

Frivillige foreninger og organisationer er medlemsbaserede organisationer. Deres daglige aktiviteter håndteres normalt af en demokratisk valgt bestyrelse samt en årlig generalforsamling for alle medlemmer, som kan stemme om nye tiltag samt udpege nye bestyrelsesmedlemmer.

Der foretages ofte en distinktion mellem foreninger og organisationer. Foreninger baserer som oftest størstedelen af deres aktiviteter på frivillig arbejdskraft, og alle disse frivillige skal være medlemmer af foreningen. Frivillige organisationer er ofte mere professionaliserede organisationer, og frivilligt arbejde kan derfor være mindre i omfang. De frivillige er desuden ikke nødvendigvis alle organiseret som medlemmer inden for frivillige organisationer. Typiske eksempler på frivillige foreninger er fodboldklubber, spejderklubber og politiske partier, mens typiske eksempler på frivillige organisationer er de internationale hjælpeorganisationer.

Fonde ledes af en bestyrelse, som er i stand til at uddele midler fra en privat formue til ikke-kommercielle formål. Eksempler er Carlsbergfondet, A.P. Møllers Fonde og Rockwool Fonden.

Selvejende institutioner er organisationer, der administreres af en selvstændig bestyrelse. De "rene" selvejende institutioner kan betragtes som private organisationer, fordi de bestyrer en privat formue og kan nedlægge sig selv. Der findes dog også selvejende institutioner inden for den statslige forvaltning, som nyder en vis autonomi, men disse kan ikke betragtes som private i den forstand som den tidligere definition lægger op til (Thøgersen 2015). Eksempler på selvejende institutioner er friskoler, højskoler og væresteder.

Imellem de forskellige organisationsformer, der samlet udgør frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, kan der tegnes en yderligere skillelinje mellem de organisationer, der bygger en betydelig del af deres produktion på arbejdsbidrag bestående af frivilligt arbejde og indkomster fra pengegaver, og dem som ikke gør. Hermed udskilles *den frivillige sektor*, som udgøres af frivillige foreninger og organisationer. På den anden side af skillelinjen står *nonprofitsektoren*, som udgøres af de selvejende institutioner og fonde, der næsten udelukkende har betalte ansatte og i de selvejende institutioners tilfælde i høj grad modtager sine økonomiske overførsler fra den offentlige sektor (Boje

& Ibsen 2006; Boje et al. 2006; Salamon & Anheier 1992b). Da denne afhandling beskæftiger sig med frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver er det altså særligt den frivillige sektor, som er relevant.

Det er imidlertid ikke blot den formelle organisationsform eller brug af frivillige bidrag af tid og penge, der udgør skillelinjerne inden for frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, men også de arbejdsområder, som organisationerne – og i forlængelse heraf deres frivillige og givere – beskæftiger sig med og bidrager til at løse. For at imødekomme disse skillelinjer inden for frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren introduceres der en opdeling af sektoren med udgangspunkt i dens arbejdsområder: såsom sundhedsområdet, politisk interesserepræsentation, idræt, kultur med videre (Lorentzen 1993; Skov Henriksen 1995). Specifikt gøres der brug af de 14 kategorier i ICNPO-klassifikationen⁴, hvilket står for *International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations*, og denne klassifikation stammer ligeledes fra CNP (Salamon & Anheier 1992a). Begrundelsen for at anvende netop ICNPO frem for andre klassifikationsformer er, at Frivillighedsundersøgelserne gør brug af denne opdeling, og dermed er det netop den detaljeringsgrad, der foreligger i empirien. Jeg vil ikke gå i detaljer med, hvad disse områder dækker over her, men en nærmere redegørelse findes i Boje et al. (2006:42-44). Afhandlingen vil dels beskæftige sig bredt med de ovenstående arbejdsområder, der præger frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren. Men muligheden for en nærmere detaljeringsgrad i forhold til enkelte arbejdsområder udnyttes i artikel 2 og 3.

Frivilligt arbejde

Der er tale om frivilligt arbejde, når et individ frit vælger at arbejde gratis for en frivillig- eller nonprofitorganisation (Chambré & Einolf 2008). Sådan lyder en direkte og kortfattet definition af frivilligt arbejde. Alligevel findes der divergerende opfattelser af, hvad der præcist udgør frivilligt arbejde. Det skyldes til dels, at begrebet bruges i hverdagssproget til at betegne en hel del forskellige ubetalte aktiviteter – såsom virksomhedspraktik, nabo hjælp eller deltagelse i en protestaktion – som ligger uden for eller på kanten af den måde, som begrebet anvendes i forskningssammenhænge (Handy et al. 2000; Hustinx et al. 2010). For at introducere en definition af frivilligt arbejde, der harmonerer med forskningen på området, er en mere detaljeret begrebsafklaring derfor på sin plads.

Denne kan med fordel tage udgangspunkt i den ofte anvendte definition af frivilligt arbejde, der ligger til grund for det internationale *Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project* (Salamon & Anheier 1997), hvorefter det danske datamateriale udspringer (Fridberg 2014a). I disse undersøgelser afgrænses frivilligt arbejde til at være en aktivitet, der er karakteriseret ved at være:

⁴ Disse er: socialvæsen, sundhed, kultur, fritid, idræt, uddannelse, miljø, lokalsamfund, juridisk rådgivning, politik, internationalt arbejde, religion, fagligt arbejde, andet (Salamon & Anheier 1992a)

1. *Ulønnnet*, om end der er mulighed for kompensation for udgifter.
2. *Frivilligt*, altså udført på baggrund af egen fri vilje. Det kan altså ikke være ubetalte aktiviteter, som man er tvunget til at udføre, såsom aktivering.
3. *Udført i en formel organisatorisk sammenhæng*, såsom en frivillig forening⁵. Det kan derfor ikke blot være sporadisk hjælp, der ydes til andre.
4. *Til gavn for andre* end én selv og den nærmeste familie
5. *Aktiv*, hvorfor et medlemskab af en organisation eller forening ikke er tilstrækkelig.

De fem kriterier ovenfor kan bruges til at afgrænse frivilligt arbejde som et empirisk fænomen, der adskiller sig fra lignende aktiviteter – og det er vigtigt, når frivilligt arbejde skal måles. Definitionen kaldes en *operationel definition*, da begrebet frivilligt arbejde operationaliseres til få kriterier, som kan siges samlet at afgrænse aktiviteten (Chambré & Einolf 2008). Denne tilgang har den fordel, at man forholder sig relativt åbent over for formålet og motiverne, der ligger bag det frivillige arbejde.

Definitionen fra CNP ligger til grund for denne afhandling. Alligevel er det nyttigt at se på nogle af de mindre åbne begrebsliggørelser af frivilligt arbejde – de såkaldte *nominelle definitioner* – som har præget forskningslitteraturen. Disse er nyttige, fordi de knytter tydeligere an til teoretiske forklaringer på, hvad der driver individers beslutning om at arbejde frivilligt, samt hvad frivilligt arbejde betyder for den enkelte frivillige (Hustinx et al. 2010). Særligt tre syn på det frivillige arbejde har præget forskningslitteraturen: frivilligt arbejde som en prosocial aktivitet, en fritidsaktivitet og et arbejde (Chambré & Einolf 2008). Hver af disse begrebsliggørelser af frivilligt arbejde redegøres der nu for, og de bliver desuden kort relateret til teorier om frivilligt arbejde, som fremføres i næste hovedafsnit.

At se frivilligt arbejde som en *prosocial aktivitet* grunder i en antagelse om, at frivilligt arbejde er bekostningsfuldt for den frivillige i form af tid og primært er gavnlig for andre – altså gavnlig for modtagerne af den frivilliges omsorg og opmærksomhed (Chambré & Einolf 2008; Wittek & Bekkers 2015). Når frivilligt arbejde begrebsliggøres som en prosocial handling, bliver det oplagt at søge forklaringer på deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde i den frivilliges intention om at gøre noget godt for andre. Forklaringen på den frivilliges velgørende intentioner søges således i bestemte personlighedstræk såsom empati eller ekstroverthed (Batson & Powell 2003) samt en moralsk eller værdimæssig orientering mod ansvar for andre eller samfundet som hele (Bekkers & Schuyt 2008; Manning 2010; Wilson & Janoski 1995; Rossi 2001).

⁵ Der er dog ikke krav om, at den organisation arbejdet udføres for er en frivillig- eller nonprofitorganisation. Men det er kun 17 % af det frivillige arbejde i Danmark, der med sikkerhed ikke gør dette, så det er de facto langt størstedelen af det frivillige arbejde, altså bidrag til frivillig- og nonprofitorganisationer (Henriksen 2014). Det arbejde som ikke foregår i en frivillig- og nonprofitorganisation foregår først og fremmest i en offentlig institution men kan også foregå i et privat firma (Henriksen 2014).

At se frivilligt arbejde som en *fritidsaktivitet* betyder, at frivilligt arbejde bliver et fornøjelses- og lystbetonet livsstilsvalg, der er et udtryk for, hvordan bestemte individer ønsker at allokere deres frie tid (Chambré & Einolf 2008). Frivilligt arbejde som fritidsaktivitet adskiller sig fra synet på frivilligt arbejde som prosocial handling ved at fremhæve det frivillige arbejdes egennyttige frem for velgørende facetter. Vi arbejder altså ikke frivilligt *kun* for andres skyld, men også fordi vi selv finder en form for nydelse eller et bidrag til vores identitet i at udleve vores personlige værdier og interesser igennem det frivillige arbejde (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal 2008; Hustinx 2010a; Wilson & Musick 1999). Forklaringer på individers valg af netop frivilligt arbejde som fritidsaktivitet søges for eksempel i individets overskud af fri tid (Qvist 2015), eller interesse for en bestemt aktivitet samt behov for at konstruere en identitet (Hustinx 2010a; Wilson & Musick 1997).

Når frivilligt arbejde ses som et *arbejde*, lægges der vægt på, at selvom den frivillige ikke modtager løn, så bruger han eller hun ikke desto mindre sin tid og sine evner til at producere en ydelse eller et gode, som andre konsumerer (Chambré & Einolf 2008; Tilly & Tilly 1998). Med andre ord er det frivillige arbejde en produktiv aktivitet på linje med betalt arbejde (Taylor 2004; Wilson & Musick 1997)⁶. At se frivilligt arbejde som et arbejde leder det forskningsmæssige fokus mod, hvordan humane kapitalressourcer som uddannelse og erhvervserfaring i højere grad gør det muligt for bestemte socialgrupper med højere socioøkonomisk status at arbejde frivilligt (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson 2012; Wilson & Musick 1997). Argumentet er, at disse højressource-individer både føler sig mere kvalificerede til det frivillige arbejde og i højere grad bliver rekrutteret af frivillig- og nonprofitorganisationer, der søger produktive “medarbejdere” (Musick & Wilson 2008). Med synet på frivilligt arbejde som et egentligt arbejde rykkes fokus dermed væk fra de frivilliges intentioner med at arbejde frivilligt – altså hvorvidt det frivillige arbejde er tænkt til fordel for andre eller en selv – og mod de frivilliges sociale profil (Chambré & Einolf 2008).

Denne afhandling begrænser sig ikke til et enkelt syn på det frivillige arbejdes natur. Det har derimod været nyttigt at forholde sig åben over for, at frivilligt arbejde kan indeholde elementer af at være en prosocial handling, en fritidsaktivitet og et arbejde – hvilket afhandlingens primære definition fra CNP muliggør ved ikke at antage et bestemt motiv eller mål for det frivillige arbejde (Salamon & Anheier 1997). Dette valg begrundes til dels i, at en begrebslig åbenhed over for det frivillige arbejdes mange facetter muliggør et rigere udvalg af teoretiske forklaringsmodeller. Valget grunder desuden i en forventning om, at frivilligt arbejde er en alsidig aktivitet, der kan indeholde elementer af disse tre (og måske flere) typer af aktiviteter.

⁶ Dette syn på det frivillige arbejde muliggør for eksempel, at værdien af det frivillige arbejde kan fastsættes ved at estimere, hvad en tilsvarende betalt ansat skulle have for at udføre det frivillige arbejde (Brown 1999).

Pengegaver

Med udgangspunkt i forskningslitteraturen kan pengegaver kort defineres som frivillige overførsler af penge fra privatpersoner til frivillig- og nonprofitorganisationer (Andreoni 2006; Bekkers & Wiepking 2010; Vesterlund 2006). I det empiriske datamateriale fra Frivillighedsundersøgelsen findes der desuden en noget længere definition af pengegaver, der, ligesom med frivilligt arbejde, kan hjælpe med at afgrænse denne aktivitet som empirisk fænomen. Det fremgår, at:

“Der er tale om pengegaver, når et beløb gives for at støtte en organisation, forening eller fond, eller støtte aktiviteter, der er drevet af disse. Pengegaver dækker alle beløb, uanset størrelsesorden og kan både indbetales fast, ved husstandsindsamlinger eller via sms eller nettet. Medlemskontingenter skal ikke tælles med. Køb af varer og tjenester, fx køb af tøj i en frivillig drevet genbrugsbutik og penge til tiggere, skal heller ikke tælles med.”

(spørgeskema til Frivillighedsundersøgelsen 2012:65)

Dette kapitels indledende definition og spørgsmålsteksten ovenfor kan igen siges at udgøre en operationel definition af pengegaver. Den operationelle definition ligger til grund for denne afhandling. Søger man efter mere teoretisk knyttede nominelle definitioner på, hvad der karakteriserer det at give pengegaver, så findes der især to indflydelsesrige definitioner: pengegaver som en prosocial aktivitet og pengegaver som et køb af et gode.

Pengegaver som en prosocial aktivitet lægger vægt på, at pengegaver gives med en intention om at levere ydelser eller forfølge politiske eller sociale målsætninger, som ikke primært (eller overhovedet) er til fordel for giveren selv, men derimod personer uden for giverens umiddelbare familie eller venskabskreds (Witteck & Bekkers 2015). Ligesom når intentionerne bag at udføre frivilligt arbejde skal søges, så lægges der ved studiet af pengegaver som prosociale aktiviteter vægt på personlighedstræk (Batson & Powell 2003) samt normer og værdier (Bekkers & Wiepking 2010; 2011).

En anden måde at tænke pengegaver på er at se *pengegaver som et køb af et gode* – for eksempel mere kunst i det offentlige rum, flere fodbolde til den lokale klub eller flere vaccinationer til børn i tredjeverdenslande. Ligesom ved et køb af et hvilket som helst andet gode, afhænger vores bidrag af pris og økonomiske ressourcer (Vesterlund 2006). Med dette ressource-perspektiv antages der dermed ikke bestemte intentioner bag beslutningen om at give pengegaver, men fokus lægges derimod først og fremmest på de økonomiske ressourcer, der kræves for at deltage i denne aktivitet (Andreoni 2006).

Begge disse begrebsliggørelser af pengegaver vil blive anvendt i afhandlingens artikler.

Teori

Den britiske sociolog Kenneth Newton bemærker, at mens vi er født ind i familien, ikke kan undgå staten, og de fleste af os er nødsaget til at udbyde vores arbejdskraft på markedet, så er frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren den eneste af samfundets sektorer, som vi kan vælge, om vi ønsker at bidrage til eller tage del i (Newton 2001). At forstå hvorfor nogle individer træffer dette valg, mens andre ikke gør, bliver derfor af særlig interesse for samfundsvidenskaben. Tre forskellige discipliner – psykologien, økonomien og sociologien⁷ – har hver givet et bud herpå, og det kan dermed siges, at der findes en flerfaglig tilgang til forskningsfeltet (Einolf & Chambré 2011; Hustinx et al. 2010).

I dette afsnit gives der en redegørelse for de centrale teoretiske bidrag fra hver videnskabelig disciplin, og uoverensstemmelser mellem de videnskabelige discipliner diskuteres. Fokus er på teoretiske bidrag og uoverensstemmelser, der er relevante for afhandlingens artikler. Denne fremgangsmåde skal give læseren en oversigt over den samlede teoretiske tilgang, som afhandlingen anvender i de empiriske undersøgelser på tværs af de fem artikler.

Afsnittet tager udgangspunkt i de teorier, som forklarer deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver som et udtryk for forskelle i personligheder og værdier. Derefter de teorier, der anvender normer, sociale roller og ressourcer til at forklare, hvordan deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver både begrænses og muliggøres for bestemte individer, afhængigt af de sociale normer, vi handler efter, sociale roller, vi indtager, eller de ressourcer, vi besidder. Den integrerede teori hører til blandt de teorier, der tager udgangspunkt i ressourcer, men er dog også en hybrid teori, da den inkorporerer væsentlige elementer fra teorier om personligheder, værdier, normer og sociale roller (Wilson & Musick 1997). Til sidst ses der på teorier om afkastet ved frivilligt arbejde, hvilket dog er tæt knyttet til motiverne for overhovedet at arbejde frivilligt og give pengegaver og dermed spørgsmålet om, hvad der påvirker valget om at tage del i disse aktiviteter (Hustinx et al. 2010).

Personlighedstræk og værdier

Når frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver ses som specifikke tilfælde af prosociale handlinger – på linje med for eksempel nabohejs, bloddonation og stemmeafgivning – forventes det ofte, at vores tilbøjelighed til at tage del i disse aktiviteter afhænger af bestemte værdier og personlighedstræk (Bekkers 2004; Lee et al. 1999; Wittek & Bekkers 2015). Denne tilgang har især psykologien bidraget til. Det argumenteres, at mens individer med overvejende antisociale værdier og personlighedstræk har en præference for at

⁷ Politologien kan desuden tilføjes til denne liste. Inden for politologien har fokus især været på den "infrastruktur" på samfundets makroplan såsom omfang og tradition for demokrati eller demokratiske institutioner, der muliggør nonprofitsektoren og dens aktiviteter (Hustinx et al. 2010; Newton 2001). Fordi disse forhold ikke har haft konkret betydning for arbejdet i denne afhandling, har jeg dog valgt ikke at inddrage politologiske tilgange i den teoretiske ramme.

handle egennyttigt, så vil individer med overvejende prosociale værdier og personlighedstræk have en præference for at handle efter, hvad der bringer mest nytte for andre eller samfundet som hele (Batson & Powell 2003). Når et individ handler prosocialt i en given situation – såsom ved at give penge, når han eller hun anmodes af en indsamler – kan det dermed forstås som, at et individ udnytter den konkrete situation til at udtrykke sine præferencer for prosociale handlinger (Bekkers 2004).

Empirisk har fokus været på at relatere specifikke tilfælde af prosociale handlinger til korresponderende prosociale værdier og personlighedstræk, der siges at styre vores mere konkrete præferencer i en given situation, hvor muligheden for at handle prosocialt opstår (Hustinx et al. 2010; Penner 2002). Personlighedstræk betegnes som få grundlæggende og stabile karakteristika ved vores personlighed såsom vores grad af imødekommenhed, empati og ekstroverthed, der ifølge personlighedspsykologien forholder sig stabile gennem et livsforløb (Bekkers 2005). Værdier er de mange tillærte orienteringer imod for eksempel social retfærdighed eller næstekærlighed, som forventes at have en vis stabilitet, men dog i højere grad end personlighedstræk kan variere i løbet af livet (Bekkers 2004). Det antages, at prosociale personlighedstræk og værdier formes gennem en bestemt opvækst i familien (Bekkers 2005), fra venner og bekendte (van Goethem et al. 2014), og fra deltagelsen i formelle samfundsinstitutioner såsom skolevæsenet (Dee 2004).

Der findes dog en betydelig kritik af denne tilbøjelighed til at forklare deltagelsen i prosociale handlinger ud fra personlighedstræk og værdier: den såkaldte person-situation-problematik. Kritikken går på, hvorvidt individer overhovedet besidder konsistente personlighedstræk og værdier over tid, der er i stand til at styre deres handlinger på tværs af forskellige situationer (Epstein & O'Brien 1985). En konsekvens af person-situation-problematikken er, at bestemte individer måske oftere handler prosocialt, ikke fordi de har en prosocial personlighed, men blot fordi de oftere befinder sig i situationer, hvor de *får muligheden for* eller i højere grad *forventes at* handle prosocialt. For eksempel fordi bestemte individer oftere bliver spurgt, om de vil arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver (Bekkers 2004; Hustinx et al. 2010; Musick & Wilson 2008; Sokolowski 1996).

Kritikken af personpsykologien ovenfor støttes af den empiriske forskning, der viser, at personlighedstræk og værdier ikke fyldestgørelse kan forklare beslutningen om at give penge eller arbejde frivilligt (Hustinx & Lammertyn 2003). Det gælder især, når beslutningen om at handle prosocialt er særligt bekostelig – for eksempel i form af meget tid eller mange penge – eller kræver konkrete færdigheder såsom ledelseserfaring (Amato 1990; Bekkers 2004; Van Lange 1997; Lissek et al. 2006; Musick & Wilson 2008). Disse nyere studier har deres rod tilbage i et klassik studie af Bronfenbrenner (1960) hvor det viste sig, at betydningen af personlighedstræk reduceres markant, når socioøkonomiske faktorer introduceres, hvilket ledte Bronfenbrenner til at konkludere, at *“What counts most are one’s skills, resources, and willingness to serve”* (ibid.:61).

I denne afhandling anerkendes det, at tilbøjeligheden til at deltage i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver til en vis grad kan tilskrives særlige prosociale værdier og personlighedstræk (Bekkers 2004). Foruden at der anvendes sociologiske teorier, som også lægger vægt på den bredere sociale kontekst. Heriblandt hyppigheden og karakteren af den specifikke situation, hvori det bliver muligt at handle prosocialt, samt de ressourcer individer besidder, der muliggør prosociale handlinger (Bekkers 2004; Hustinx et al. 2010; Sokolowski 1996). De to tilgange ses altså som komplementære i artiklerne: frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver er både et udtryk for individuelle værdier og personlighedstræk samt bredere sociale forhold, der relaterer sig til det enkelte individs forpligtelser og muligheder (Bekkers 2004; Hustinx et al. 2010; Sokolowski 1996).

Personlighedsperspektivet har størst indflydelse i afhandlingens artikel 1 og 5. I artikel 1 anvendes der et perspektiv om, at individer under deres opvækst kan socialiseres inden for familien til en værdiorientering mod frivilligt arbejde (Bekkers 2005). I artikel 5 forklares beslutningen om at give pengegaver med udgangspunkt i personlighedstræk såsom empati og værdier såsom velgørenhed (Bekkers 2011; Evers & Gesthuizen 2011; Uslaner 2001; 2005; Wang & Graddy 2008).

Normer

En måde at forklare individers engagement i prosociale aktiviteter ud fra de forpligtelser og forventninger, som vi kan opleve for at handle prosocialt, er ved hjælp af normer. Disse defineres som uformelle regler for, hvordan medlemmer af en gruppe eller samfund bør handle (Ostrom 2000). Normer er relateret til, men distinkte fra, værdier. Mens værdier er målsætninger, som individer kan have en præference for at forfølge, er det ikke et spørgsmål om præference men pligt at handle efter normer. Mens værdier altså knytter an til fri vilje og individualitet, knytter normer an til konformitet med sociale grupper og samfundet som sådan (Musick & Wilson 2008).

Sociologer og socialpsykologer antager, at normkonformitet opstår ved, at individer udsættes for både eksterne (sociale) og interne (psykologiske) pres for at strukturere deres handlinger i overensstemmelse med normer – dette er en tilgang som har rod i Durkheim (1897). Eksterne pres opstår i forbindelse med, at individer tager del i grupper og samfund, hvor der findes en gensidig forventning om, at gruppe- og samfundsmedlemmer handler efter bestemte normer, der enten kommunikeres eksplicit eller implicit synliggøres gennem andres adfærd (Lapinski & Rimal 2005). Jo mere et individ ønsker at høre til i en bestemt gruppe eller samfund, jo vigtigere vil det være for individet at handle efter gruppens eller samfundets normer for derigennem at opnå accept frem for stigmatisering eller eksklusion fra gruppen (Arrow & Burns 2004). Internalisering opstår i takt med, at individer over længere tid tager del i disse grupper og samfund, og dermed tillærer sig bredt accepterede sociale normer, som individet handler efter, selv når deltagelsen i sådanne grupper og netværk ophører (Lapinski & Rimal 2005). Individer kan opleve skyld eller skam, hvis de forræder sig mod internaliserede normer om, hvad der er ønskelig eller uønskelig adfærd (Arrow & Burns

2004). Den første tilgang til normkonformitet kaldes oftest en strukturel tilgang, fordi styrken af gruppe- eller samfundsstrukturen fremhæves som mekanisme for normers effektivitet, mens den sidste tilgang oftest benævnes som en kulturel tilgang, da det fremhæves at et individ tillærer sig en kultur, som vedkommende tager med sig videre i livet (Lapinski & Rimal 2005).

I forhold til frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver har der været empirisk fokus på at fremhæve sociale normer såsom generaliseret reciprocitet eller socialt ansvar, som kan være indlejret i samfundet som hele og i særdeleshed inden for subgrupper såsom religiøse fællesskaber. Disse normer er vigtige, fordi prosociale aktiviteter antages at have betydelige afkast for andre og kun minimale afkast for individet selv. Dermed forventes det, at egennyttige præferencer kan begrænses af internaliserede eller eksterne normer, der påtvinger individet at handle prosocialt (Batson & Powell 2003; Wittek & Bekkers 2015). For denne afhandling er sociale normer relevante som del af en forståelse for sociale roller, hvilket gennemgås i næste afsnit. Forklaringer med udgangspunkt i normer anvendes dog også i til at forklare engagementet i pengegaver (artikel 5) og frivilligt socialt arbejde som en *compulsory altruism* (artikel 2).

Sociale roller

En vigtig tilgang til at forstå, hvordan bestemte personer i højere grad både *forventes* samt har *mulighed for* at arbejde frivilligt og give pengegaver, er idéen om, at individer indtager bestemte sociale roller. Denne tilgang er særligt udbredt inden for sociologien og socialpsykologien (Biddle 1986).

En social rolle – såsom rollen som mor, ven eller kollega – defineres som en samling af forpligtelser, privilegier, værdier og normer, som individer enten selv vælger at indtage eller tilskrives af andre (Biddle 1986). Teoriretningen forklarer eksistensen af en sociale rolle “... *by presuming that persons are members of social positions and hold expectations for their own behaviors and those of other persons.*” (Biddle 1986:67). I relation til frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver fremhæver social rolle-teori, hvordan individers specifikke sociale roller gennem egne og andres forventninger til, hvordan den pågældende sociale rolle udledes, enten leder hen mod eller begrænser vores engagement (Einolf & Chambré 2011; Fyall & Gazley 2013). At være frivillig eller giver betragtes desuden i sig selv som en social rolle med dertilhørende privilegier og forpligtelser, og når en anden social rolle leder mod rollen som frivillig eller giver, er der dermed tale om en *spillover*-effekt mellem to eller flere sociale roller (Einolf & Chambré 2011; Musick & Wilson 2008).

Et vigtigt empiriske fokus har været at identificere relevante sociale roller, der er associeret med frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver. I den forbindelse er forælderrollen relevant, da egne og andres forventninger til forældres forpligtelser over for deres børn leder forældre til at påtage sig frivilligt arbejde i skolebestyrelser samt spejderklubber, fodboldklubber og andre fritidsaktiviteter som deres børn er engageret i (Fridberg 2014b). Artikel 3 ser på forælderrollen i forbindelse med fastholdelse i frivilligt arbejde.

En anden vigtig social rolle er kønsrollen. Selv i lande med høj ligestilling, som Danmark, opdrages piger i højere grad ind i en kønsrolle, der vægter omsorg for andre, foruden at det oftere forventes at voksne kvinder frem for mænd påtager sig omsorgsbetonede forpligtelser (Fyall & Gazley 2013). Derfor bliver omsorgsbetonet frivilligt arbejde såsom frivilligt arbejde i relation til ældre, børn og socialt udsatte en aktivitet, der i overvejende grad er designeret til kvinder. Den mandlige kønsrolle er derimod tættere associeret med frivillige aktiviteter, der vægter fysisk udfoldelse, social status og selvrealisering – såsom det frivillige arbejde inden for idræt, politik og interessevaretagelse (Fyall & Gazley 2013; Karniol et al. 2003; Wymer 2011). Distinktionen mellem kvindelige og mandlige kønsroller i forbindelse med frivilligt arbejde beskæftiger artikel 2 sig indgående med. En anden antagelse i litteraturen angående kvindelige og mandlige kønsroller er, at kvinder i højere grad forventes at og er socialiseret til at være hjælpsomme og dermed acceptere en anmodning om at give, mens mænd i højere grad giver for at signalere social status og derfor giver mindre ofte men derimod mere end kvinder (Wiepking & Bekkers 2012). Det ser artikel 5 på.

Økonomiske ressourcer

Endnu et vigtigt perspektiv er at fokusere på de omkostninger og dermed de ressourcer, der kræves for at arbejde frivilligt (Bekkers 2004). Særligt for den økonomiske ressource-fokuserede tilgang er, at omkostningerne ved at deltage i begge aktiviteter i sidste ende opfattes som værende strengt finansielle. For pengegaver er de finansielle omkostningerne lig med det donerede beløb minus eventuelle skattefradrag⁸ – hvilket i litteraturen omtales som *the cost of giving* (Vesterlund 2006). Omkostningerne ved frivilligt arbejde antages at være lig de alternativomkostninger, der opstår ved at arbejde frivilligt – det vil sige den løn, individer opgiver på det betalte arbejdsmarked for i stedet at arbejde ubetalt (Brown 1999).

Hensigten med at kvantificere omkostningerne ved at deltage i prosociale handlinger er, at beslutningen om, hvorvidt et individ giver pengegaver eller arbejder frivilligt, samt den mængde af tid og/eller penge, der doneres, i givet fald kan bestemmes som en funktion af individets alternativomkostninger (fortrinsvist løn). Er alternativomkostningerne høje, bliver det i højere grad irrationelt at arbejde frivilligt frem for at give pengegaver, og det rationelle individ med høje alternativomkostninger bør derfor give penge frem for tid. I praksis betyder det, at højtbetalte beskæftigede vil udbyde deres arbejdskraft på det betalte arbejdsmarked frem for at arbejde frivilligt, men derimod opfylde deres præference for prosociale aktiviteter ved at donere penge (Day & Devlin 1996).

Denne teoretiske antagelse er dog empirisk problematisk eftersom et stort antal studier viser, at det oftest er de højtuddannede og ansatte i højere stillinger på

⁸ Sådanne skattefradrag er vigtige i f.eks. USA. Herhjemme er det dog mere beskedent hvor meget betydning sådanne fradrag har, da der maksimalt kan opnås fradrag på 15.000 kr. om året (Ligningsloven, §8A)

arbejdsmarkedet – altså personerne med højest alternativomkostninger – der arbejder frivilligt (Wilson 2000; 2012). For sociologiske studier – såsom denne ph.d.-afhandling – er disse empiriske resultater en klar indikation på, at de ressourcer det kræver for at deltage i frivilligt arbejde i mindre grad – hvis overhovedet – er økonomiske, og i langt højere grad er humane, sociale og kulturelle (Forbes & Zampelli 2014; Musick & Wilson 2008). En forklaring herpå kan være, at beslutningen om, *hvorvidt* et individ arbejder frivilligt eller giver pengegaver, er en beslutning med lave eller igen finansielle omkostninger. Den typiske frivillige arbejder således frivilligt 9 timer om måneden og den typiske giver giver 600 kr. om året – halvdelen af alle givere og frivillige bidrager altså med mindre tid og penge (Fridberg 2014c; Taxhjem 2014). Men pris og alternativomkostninger kan muligvis spille en vigtig rolle for særligt tidsintensivt frivilligt arbejde, der eventuelt sker på bekostning af betalt arbejde (Qvist 2015)⁹ samt for særligt store pengegaver, der kræver betydelige finansielle ressourcer. Beslutningen om at deltage i disse aktiviteter har altså i langt mindre grad – hvis overhovedet – finansielle konsekvenser, men det kan beslutningen om, hvor meget man deltager, derimod have (Kirchgässner 1992; 2010). I artikel 5 beskæftiger afhandlingen sig netop med denne problemstilling i relation til pengegaver. Artiklen sætter i den forbindelse fokus på, hvornår i beslutningen om at give pengegaver, de økonomiske omkostninger indtræder.

Humane, sociale og kulturelle ressourcer

Generelt om det økonomiske ressourceperspektiv må det dog konkluderes, at denne disciplin har principielt svært ved at inkorporere forhold, der placerer frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver i en bredere kulturel og social kontekst, som inkluderer variable såsom familieforhold, uddannelse, sociale netværk, tradition og religion samt mange andre variable, der har vist sig at have en betydelig indvirkning på individers beslutning om at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver (Hustinx et al. 2010). Det kan derfor være nyttigt med et sociologisk perspektiv, der bevarer en tilgang til at forstå handlingen om at arbejde frivilligt og give pengegaver ud fra ressourcer, der kræves for at være frivillig, men i højere grad har en forståelse for, at disse ressourcer ikke blot er økonomiske. I den forbindelse bliver den særdeles indflydelsesrige sociologiske teori om frivilligt arbejde, Musick og Wilsons *integrerede teori* – som nok er bedre kendte som *ressourceteorien*¹⁰ – særdeles relevant (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson & Musick 1997). Denne teori er desuden blevet videreført til pengegaver (Wiepking & Maas 2009).

⁹ Studiet af Qvist understøtter dog ikke denne antagelse, men derimod et argument om, at der simpelthen kan være tale om en tidsklemme, hvor individer med et højt antal betalte arbejdstimer ikke har tid til at arbejde frivillige i et stort omfang. Frivilligt arbejde erstatter altså ikke et individs engagement i lønarbejde, men fortrænges af dette lønarbejde (Apinunmahakul, Barham, & Devlin 2007).

¹⁰ I afhandlingens artikler anvendes der fortrinsvist navnet “ressourceteorien”, da teorien oftest går under dette navn i den internationale forskningslitteratur. I kappen vælger jeg dog navnet “den integrerede teori”, da dette tydeliggør, at teorien inkorporerer elementer fra andre teoriretninger.

Den integrerede teori antager, at individer kan arbejde frivilligt af en lang række årsager, som er tæt knyttet til de private og offentlige goder, som det frivillige arbejde producerer¹¹. For eksempel kan vi arbejde frivilligt for at dække et prosocialt behov, fordi vi ønsker en fornøjelig fritidsaktivitet, fordi vi ønsker at investere i vores sociale status eller meget andet (Wilson & Musick 1997; 2003). Men uagtet hvilke motiver, vi har for at arbejde frivilligt, er frivilligt arbejde:

“...more attractive to the resource-rich than to the resource-poor. If volunteer work demands money, the rich will find it easier to do; if it demands knowledge and ‘civic skills,’ the well-educated will be less challenged by it; if it requires heavy lifting, the physically healthy will find it more tolerable; if it is very time consuming, those with ‘time on their hands’ will find it easier to bear the burden.”

(Musick & Wilson 2008: 113)

Det er altså de personer iblandt os, der besidder flest af de ressourcer, der er relevante for frivilligt arbejde, der vil have nemmest ved at arbejde frivilligt. Eller udtrykt i teoriens *rational choice*-rammer: Det er mere rationelt for de ressourcestærke frem for de ressource svage at arbejde frivilligt, fordi ressourcestærke individer vil have nemmere ved at “betale” det frivillige arbejdes omkostninger med henblik på at kunne “profitere” af dets afkast (Musick & Wilson 2008). Resultatet er, at det er de sociale vindere, der i højere grad udgør samfundets frivillige arbejdsstyrke, samtidig med at de i højere grad besætter de mest indflydelsesrige dele af de frivillige foreninger og organisationer – akkurat som på det betalte arbejdsmarked (Smith 1994; Wilson 2000). Argumentet går to veje. For det første vil ressourcestærke individer i højere grad føle, at de er kvalificerede til det frivillige arbejde og dermed opsøge muligheden for at arbejde frivilligt. Men frivillig- og nonprofitorganisationer vil også i højere grad rekruttere frivillige blandt de ressourcestærke individer, som de mener er bedst egnede til at påtage sig produktive roller inden for deres organisation (Musick & Wilson 2008).

For at kunne arbejde med den integrerede teori empirisk, må de konkrete former for kapital, der udgør de ressourcer, der er relevante for frivilligt arbejde, bestemmes. Med udgangspunkt i James Coleman, defineres kapital som et “... *input that facilitates production, but is not consumed or otherwise used up in production*” (Coleman 1994:175). Den integrerede teori hviler i den sammenhæng på tre betragtninger: Frivillighed er en produktiv aktivitet og kræver derfor human kapital (uddannelse og erhvervs erfaring); frivilligt arbejde udføres kollektivt og kræver derfor social kapital (sociale netværk og tillid); og det frivillige arbejde styres af etik og kræver derfor kulturel kapital (traditioner og normer) (Wilson & Musick 1997). Der redegøres nu i detaljer for

¹¹ Der blev gået i detaljer med disse private og offentlige gode i indledningen, og jeg vender tilbage til disse i næste afsnit.

de enkelte kapitalressourcer for derigennem at tydeliggøre, hvorfor netop disse er vigtige for frivilligt arbejde.

For det første lægger den integrerede teori vægt på, at frivilligt arbejde er et arbejde og dermed mere end blot en fritidsaktivitet med rent privat nydelsesværdi. Dette skyldes, at det frivillige arbejde involverer produktionen af et gode, som andre konsumerer – såsom lektiehjælp, fodboldtræning, organisering af et debatmøde og så videre (Taylor 2004; Wilson & Musick 1997). Ligesom betalt arbejde, opbruger frivilligt arbejde derfor også ressourcer som energi og tid, og ligesom andre former for arbejde, kræver frivilligt arbejde bestemte færdigheder, som nogle mennesker besidder i højere grad end andre (Musick & Wilson 2008; Smith 1994). Specifikt er der tale om human kapital-ressourcer, der oftest operationaliseres til uddannelse, erhvervserfaring og et godt helbred (Schultz 1961; Wilson & Musick 1997).

Frivilligt arbejde er desuden en kollektiv og prosocial aktivitet, som producerer offentlige eller kvasi-offentlige goder, der er til fordel for et afgrænset fællesskab eller samfundet som hele. Derfor er frivilligt arbejde udsat for *freerider-problemer*, da vi ikke vil arbejde frivilligt længe, hvis vi ikke oplever, at andre bidrager (Wilson & Musick 1997; 1999). Med udgangspunkt i Coleman påpeges det, at sociale relationer til andre kan løse disse problemer ved at *“supply information, foster trust, make contacts, provide support, set guidelines, and create obligations.”* (Wilson & Musick 1997:695). Fordi socialt integrerede personer har adgang til sociale netværk, som kan forsikre dem om andres indsats, er det i højere grad de socialt integrerede frem for de socialt isolerede, der arbejder frivilligt (Wilson & Musick 1998). Desuden er det gennem vores kontakter til andre mennesker, at vi bliver præsenteret for muligheden for at arbejde frivilligt (Sokolowski 1996; Wilson & Musick 1997; 1998). Samlet set kan det siges, at frivilligt arbejde kræver social kapital, hvilket ofte operationaliseres til sociale netværk og generaliseret tillid (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson & Musick 1997; 1998).

Relationen mellem den frivillige og de personer eller det formål, der nyder godt af den frivilliges arbejde, er ydermere et etisk forhold, og derfor kræver det bestemte kulturelle normer og værdier for at kunne lægge vægt på at arbejde frivilligt for et andet menneske eller et højere formål (Wilson & Musick 1997). Antagelsen er, at for individer, der er socialiseret inden for en kultur, som lægger vægt på social retfærdighed, altruisme og omsorg, vil det frivillige arbejde i højere grad blive set i et positivt lys eller ligefrem som noget naturgivent (Wilson & Musick 1997). Kultur opfattes altså ikke som en æstetisk smag efter bestemte kulturelle objekter men som en smag efter bestemte kulturelle praksisser såsom frivilligt arbejde (Wilson & Musick 1997). Så selvom denne brug af kulturel kapital tager udgangspunkt i Bourdieu, fremhæver Musick og Wilson, at mens kultur hos Bourdieu har en overvejende æstetisk komponent, er det den moralske del af kultur, der er relevant i denne sammenhæng (Wilson & Musick 1997). Kulturel kapital operationaliseres ofte til normer og værdier om at hjælpe andre, tradition for frivilligt arbejde og religiøsitet (Wilson & Musick 1997; Wuthnow 1995).

Den integrerede teori er nærmest paradigmatiske for den sociologiske forskning i frivilligt arbejde. Dette faktum hører også til blandt den vigtigste kritik af den integrerede teori, der ofte kritiseres for at blive appliceret for bredt (Hustinx et al. 2010). Dels bruges teorien til at forklare alle de mange aspekter af frivilligt arbejde såsom deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde, tidsforbruget på frivilligt arbejde og ophør af frivilligt arbejde. Dels anvendes teorien til alle dele af det frivilligt arbejde, der er fordelt på tværs af mange forskellige arbejdsområder. Forfatterne bag den integrerede teori anerkender denne kritik, og Wilson skriver for eksempel:

“It is probably not fruitful to try to explain all activities with the same theory nor to treat all activities as if they were the same with respect to consequences.”

(Wilson 2000:233)

I denne afhandling vil grænserne for, hvornår den integrerede teori meningsfuldt kan appliceres, bestemmes empirisk. I artikel 1 undersøges betydningen af en af de vigtigste indikatorer på ressourcer, uddannelse, i relation til, hvilken effekt uddannelse har på frivilligt arbejde på tværs af generationer. I artikel 2 undersøges det, hvorvidt ressourcestærke individer ikke bare i højere grad påbegynder frivilligt arbejde men også i højere grad forbliver i det frivillige arbejde. I artikel 3 undersøges det om høje kapitalressourcer er vigtige for deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde på tværs af specifikt to arbejdsområder: ekspressive aktiviteter og social omsorg. Når ressourcer viser sig ikke tilfredsstillende at kunne forklare de empiriske fund, anvendes der alternative forklaringsmodeller, som især tager udgangspunkt i normer og sociale roller. Disse kan ifølge Music & Wilsons 2008 “Volunteers: A Social Profile” i høj grad forventes også at fungere som forventninger og begrænsninger – frem for blot ressourcer, som 1997-artiklen og den integrerede teori lægger op til (Musick & Wilson 2008).

Den integrerede teori er desuden blevet videreført til donationsområdet af de to hollandske sociologer Pamela Wiepking og Ineke Maas med deres 2009-artikel: *“Resources that Make You Generous”* i Social Forces. Wiepking og Maas’ tilgang er grundlæggende, at ligesom bestemte økonomiske, humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer kan lette tilgangen til frivilligt arbejde, findes der ligeledes kapitalressourcer, der gør tilgangen til pengegaver nemmere (Wiepking & Maas 2009). Mere specifikt: Fordi det koster penge at give penge, bliver økonomiske og humane kapitalressourcer såsom indkomst, beskæftigelse og uddannelse relevante. Og fordi pengegaver er en prosocial aktivitet, kan kulturelle og sociale kapitalressourcer såsom prosociale personlighedstræk samt normer og værdier, der tilskynder velgørenhed, være relevante (Wiepking & Maas 2009). I artikel 5 undersøges det, hvordan forskellige sociale roller og normer, som kan grupperes under disse kapitalressourcer, påvirker beslutningerne om, hvorvidt og hvor meget et individ giver i pengegaver.

Motiver og afkast

I *rational choice*-tilgange til frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver såsom den generelle mikro-økonomiske teori og den sociologiske integrerede teori findes der en stærk sammenhæng mellem afkastet ved og motiverne for at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver (Hustinx et al. 2010). Dette skyldes, at disse aktiviteter må producere betydelige afkast, før det er rationalt for individer at give deres tid og penge bort hertil (Musick & Wilson 2008). Fordi den økonomiske teori har en særdeles systematisk tilgang til dette emne, tager jeg afsæt heri.

Den økonomiske teori tager sit udgangspunkt i en problematik. Rene prosociale handlinger er per definition et brud med økonomiens fundamentale antagelse om *homo economicus*, for hvem finansielle beslutninger som udgangspunkt bør være drevet af en rationel egen nyttemaksimering. Der er i den forbindelse to relaterede problemer. For det første er det problematisk, at individer deltager i en aktivitet, hvor private omkostninger tilsyneladende overstiger private afkast (Hustinx et al. 2010). For det andet udgør produktet af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver offentlige goder – det vil sig et gode, som alle drager nytte af. Men offentlige goder er ikke-ekskluderbare og dermed udsat for *free-rider* problematikker, der gør det irrationelt for individer at bidrage personligt til disse (Andreoni 1990).

Spørgsmålet bliver dermed, om frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver er kompatible med økonomiens basis i rationel egen nytte. Om dette bemærker den amerikanske økonom James Andreoni:

“A [...] possibility is that our economic discipline of self-interested behavior is simply not well suited to explain philanthropy. Humans are, after all, moral beings. Perhaps our behavior is constrained by moral codes of conduct that make our choices unexplainable by neo-classical models of well-behaved preferences and quasi-concave utility functions. While this argument undoubtedly has merit, it represents the last refuge for the economic theorist.”

(Andreoni 2006:2)

Så frem for at godtage frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver som et rent brud med den rationelle gennytte, fremhæver økonomien tre distinkte motiver for at arbejde frivilligt og give pengegaver: (1) *Altruisme*, det vil sige en intention om at levere et *offentligt gode* til andre, hvormed frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver er en prosocial handling. (2) *Konsumtion*, altså at giveren selv modtager en form for nydelse af at give penge eller arbejde gratis, hvorved det frivillige arbejde bliver sidestillet med en fritidsaktivitet. Og endeligt (3) *investering*, hvorved der arbejdes frivilligt eller gives penge for at investere i individets egen sociale status eller praktiske færdigheder, hvormed det frivillige arbejde bliver et arbejde, der i sidste ende kan give afkast på arbejdsmarkedet (Govekar & Govekar 2002; Hustinx et al. 2010).

Grundstenen i den sociologiske integrerede teori er ligesom i økonomien *rational choice*-teori (Musick & Wilson 2008). Antagelsen inden for den integrerede teori er, at individer kun bruger deres ressourcer på en aktivitet såsom frivilligt arbejde eller pengegaver, hvis denne aktivitet giver et såkaldt profitabelt afkast – i form af produktionen af et offentligt *og/eller* privat gode – og det dermed bliver rationelt for den enkelte at give sin tid eller penge bort (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson & Musick 2003). Denne betragtning er vigtig, fordi den integrerede teori accepterer, at afkastet ved frivilligt arbejde både kan findes i form af *offentlige og private goder* og der gives ikke forrang til den ene eller anden. For at denne betragtning kan gøres i overensstemmelse med teoriens rational choice-tilgang bemærker Musick og Wilson:

“Public benefits might be thought of as “altruistic benefits” because the individual has placed a positive weight on the other’s welfare in her utility function. Such a person would be willing to give up some of her own consumption in return for an increase in the other’s consumption.”

(Musick & Wilson 2008:114)

Så det er altså kun et krav for den integrerede teori, at der skal være et klart afkast ved det frivillige arbejde, ikke at dette afkast nødvendigvis skal være privat, da et individ så at sige kan *profitere* på at vide, at andre drager nytte af deres arbejde (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson & Musick 2003).

Økonomiens empiriske fokus har derimod været rettet langt klarere mod at udskille altruismen og påvise, at den skulle have en relativt lille betydning for individers tilbøjelighed til at engagere sig i frivilligt arbejde eller give pengegaver – i stedet fremhæves konsumptions- og investeringsmotiver (Andreoni 1990; 2006; Bruno & Fiorillo 2012; DellaVigna et al. 2012; Halfpenny 1999; Vesterlund 2006). Særligt investeringsmotivet bliver vigtigt for den økonomiske tilgang til frivilligt arbejde. For eftersom frivilligt arbejde antages at være omkostningsfuld i form af tabt løn på arbejdsmarkedet, er det vigtigt at deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde giver substantielle afkast på netop det betalte arbejdsmarked (Day & Devlin 1998; Wilson & Musick 2003).

Det argumenteres i den forbindelse, at frivilligt arbejde kan *forøge* vores beholdning af de kapitalressourcer, der udgør vores samlede *employability* (Smith 2010). At deltage i frivilligt arbejde kan være en måde at opnå erhvervsrelevante færdigheder, som er fordelagtige, når der søges betalt beskæftigelse (human kapital). Det kan være en måde at udvide sociale netværk til individer, som har information om ledige stillinger (social kapital). Og endeligt kan det være en måde for individer at signalere deres arbejdsomhed og sociale bevidsthed til fremtidige arbejdsgivere (kulturel kapital) (Smith 2010; Spera et al. 2015; Wilson & Musick 2003). Denne hypotese beskæftiger afhandlingens artikel 4 sig indgående med, da der her vil blive sat fokus på investeringsmotivet for frivilligt arbejde, specifikt investering i employability.

Empiri

I dette kapitel introduceres data samt de mål for frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver, der er gjort brug af i ph.d.-afhandlingens empiriske arbejde.

Data

Frivillighedsundersøgelsen (FU) 2004 & 2012. Frivillighedsundersøgelsen er udført af SFI – Det Nationale Forskningscenter for Velfærd i et samarbejde med Aalborg Universitet, Syddansk Universitet og Roskilde Universitet.

Den første omfattende befolkningsundersøgelse med fokus på frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver blev gennemført i 2004 (n=3.134, svarprocent=75) i regi af det internationale *Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project*. Opfølgingsundersøgelsen blev gennemført i 2012 (n=2.809, svarprocent=67). Undersøgelserne er foretaget således, at der findes et panel på 1.981 respondenter, der har deltaget i begge undersøgelser, hvilket blandt andet gør det muligt at følge enkeltpersoners frivillige arbejde over tid (*artikel 3 udnytter den mulighed*).

For at opnå en større viden om ikke-vestlige indvandrere er der i 2012 desuden gennemført en separat undersøgelse med et identisk spørgeskema (n=960, svarprocent=43)¹².

Deltagerne i frivillighedsundersøgelserne er valgt tilfældigt ud fra det Centrale Personregister (CPR). Respondenterne har gennemført et telefoninterview med mulighed for et personligt møde, såfremt det var nødvendigt. Fordi respondenterne er udtrukket fra CPR, har det været muligt at knytte survey til administrative registre hos Danmarks Statistik ved hjælp af personnummeret. Dette er blevet gjort i regi af Center for Survey og Survey-Registerdata og Danmarks Statistik. Denne ph.d.-afhandling har opnået adgang til disse data i et samarbejde med SFI. Dette har gjort det muligt at opnå detaljerede og præcise data på for eksempel indkomst og uddannelse, hvilket alle artikler gør brug af – dog på nær artikel 3, som blev publiceret før berigelsen af data fra survey var gennemført.

Empiriske mål for frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver

I de følgende studier er frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver de centrale respons- eller interessevariable. Da de empiriske mål herfor er fælles for alle artiklerne gives der en kort gennemgang af disse¹³.

Det primære survey for undersøgelsen måler frivilligt arbejde ved 14 gange at spørge: *“Der arbejdes frivilligt på mange områder i samfundet. Arbejder du frivilligt*

¹² Det er på baggrund af denne stikprøve, at den samlede værdi af befolkningsgruppens bidrag til sektoren opgøres (Petrovski 2015).

¹³ Eftersom de anvendte økonometriske modeller samt mål for interessevariable såsom kapitalressourcer varierer i forhold til den konkrete problemstilling, der skal belyses, henvises der til de enkelte artikler, hvor disse er beskrevet i detaljer.

inden for: [navn på område]”, hvilket følges op med konkrete eksempler på organisationer inden for det område, som det frivillige arbejde kan finde sted inden for. Respondenten bliver spurgt, hvorvidt vedkommende udfører frivilligt arbejde generelt (hvilket 37,7 % gør), inden for det seneste år (34,6 %) og inden for den seneste måned (23,5 %). Afhængigt af hvilken tidsmæssig begrænsning, der gøres brug af, gives der altså forskellige niveauer af befolkningens frivillige arbejde. I overensstemmelse med afrapporteringen af dette survey i den tilhørende SFI-rapport, gøres der brug af begrænsningen om, at det frivillige arbejde skal være udført inden for det seneste år (Fridberg & Henriksen 2014). Derudover spørges der i survey om det samlede tidsforbrug på frivilligt arbejde inden for det seneste år (\bar{y} =121,8 timer) og den seneste måned (\bar{y} =15,6 timer).

Omtrent samme tilgang findes inden for pengegaver, hvor respondenten bliver spurgt på samme 14 områder: “Har du inden for det seneste år givet pengegaver til en forening eller organisation på ... [navn på område]” (71 %) og der igen gives eksempler på organisationer. Respondenten bliver derefter bedt om at opgøre det årlige beløb: “Hvor meget har du givet på årsbasis?” (\bar{y} =2.323 kroner). Også her er der altså gjort brug af donationer på årsbasis.

Der findes en række forhold i surveyen, der øger reliabiliteten af disse mål. Dels gives der for hver respondent en længere definition på, hvad der menes med frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver. Samtidig sikrer gentagelsen af spørgsmålet på hvert område en genkaldelse af eventuelle aktiviteter, der kvalificerer som frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver (Olsen 2006).

Oversigt over artiklernes emner, data og metoder

Artikel	1	2	3	4	5
	Volunteers Come from Educated Homes	Volunteer Care Workers	De stabile frivillige	The Effect of Volunteer Work on Employability	Whether and How Much to Give
Data	FU 12 & registerdata	FU 12 & registerdata	FU 04 & 12	FU 04, FU 12 & registerdata	FU 12 & registerdata
År	1980-2012	2012	2004 & 2012	2012-2015	2012
n	1.829	2.809	1.981	1.796	2.809
Metode	Strukturel Lignings-model (SEM)	Bivariat probit-model	Logistisk regressions-model	Cragg's model & Instrumental-variabel-regression	Tobit, Cragg's & Heckman
Aktivitet	Frivilligt arbejde	Frivilligt arbejde	Frivilligt arbejde	Frivilligt arbejde	Pengegaver

Resultater

Dette afsnit giver et resumé af de vigtigste enkeltstående resultater fra afhandlingens artikler. Disse resultater bliver sat i en sammenhæng, der gør det muligt at adressere afhandlingens overordnede forskningsspørgsmål i den efterfølgende konklusion.

Afsnittet giver først en social profil af de frivillige ud fra resultater fra afhandlingens artikler (1,2,3), derefter en oversigt over resultater angående afkastet ved frivilligt arbejde (artikel 4), og til sidst gives der en social profil for giverne (artikel 5).

En social profil af de frivillige

En grundsten i den sociologiske litteratur om frivilligt arbejde er som beskrevet antagelsen om, at mens mange måske ønsker at deltage i frivilligt arbejde, er det overvejende individer med høje grader af kapitalressourcer, der er i stand til dette (Musick & Wilson 2008). Der findes en bred international forskning, som empirisk bekræfter den antagelse (Wilson 2000; 2012). Også inden for den danske (og skandinaviske) forskning har der været fokus på de ressourcer, som frivillige besidder (Fridberg 2014b; Fridberg & Henriksen 2014; Svedberg et al. 2010; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014). Der er tale om at tegne en "social profil" for de frivillige – altså at bestemme hvilke befolkningsgrupper, der udgør den frivillige arbejdsstyrke. Uddannelse står helt centralt i denne sociale profil (Hauser 2000; Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson 2012). I sin gennemgang af den internationale frivillighedsforskning beskriver Wilson for eksempel uddannelse som "*perhaps the most important 'asset' as far as volunteering is concerned*" (Wilson 2012:185). Og i en dansk sammenhæng fremhæves det, at hele 19 % af de frivillige har en lang videregående uddannelse, mens det gælder for blot 9 % af de ikke-frivillige (Fridberg 2014c).

Det er i en anerkendelse af netop vigtigheden af uddannelse for frivilligt arbejde, at artikel 1 "*Volunteers Come from Educated Homes: The Link Between Parents' Level of Education and Their Adult Children's Propensity to Perform Volunteer Work*" knytter ressourceperspektivet (og specifikt uddannelse) til det sociologiske kernebegreb om social reproduktion. I artiklen argumenteres det, at eftersom frivilligt arbejde er en aktivitet, der er korelleret med højere social status, er det oplagt at forvente, at de ressourcer, der kræves for at deltage i denne aktivitet, ligesom med andre aktiviteter der er korelleret med social status, kan overføres på tværs af generationer (Bekkers 2007).

I artiklen er der specifikt fokus på forældres uddannelsesniveau som en ressource, der kan have betydning for deres voksne børns tilbøjelighed til at udføre frivilligt arbejde. Den sammenhæng bekræftes – rent empirisk – eftersom artiklen viser, at hvert års ekstra uddannelse forældre i gennemsnit har, forøger ens egen tilbøjelighed til at udføre frivilligt arbejde med 1,3 %-point. Der identificeres to signifikante mediationsmekanismer, der tilsammen kan forklare 65 % af betydningen af forældres uddannelse: reproduktion af social status og social læring. Ved reproduktion af social status menes der, at forældrenes uddannelse muliggør, at deres børn selv opnår et højt uddannelsesniveau (Jæger & Holm 2007). Denne proces giver voksne børn adgang til

samme humane, sociale, og kulturelle ressourcer som deres forældre, og hermed muliggøres deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde i højere grad (Bekkers 2007; Janoski & Wilson 1995). Med social læring menes der, at individer med højere uddannede forældre i større grad har haft adgang til konkrete "frivillige forbilleder", der har kunnet præge deres værdier i en retning mod at udøve frivilligt arbejde, eftersom højt uddannede forældre i højere grad har arbejdet frivilligt selv (Bekkers 2007; Caputo 2009; Janoski & Wilson 1995; Perks & Konecny 2015; Quaranta & Sani 2016; van Goethem et al. 2014).

Denne artikel understøtter altså overordnet ressourceteorien og er desuden i stand til at knytte denne teori til social reproduktion. Men artiklen leverer også en vigtig kritik af ressourceteorien, specifikt en kritik af brugen af individ-variable udelukkende som et udtryk for ressourcer hos individet selv. Denne kritik grunder i, at effekten af egen uddannelse falder med 39%, når der kontrolleres for forældres uddannelse og traditionen for frivilligt arbejde i familien. Dette skyldes, at eget uddannelsesniveau er en central indikator på forældres uddannelsesniveau og dermed de ressourcer, der er indlejret i familien.

Det er dog ikke kun uddannelsesniveau, der er af interesse i konstruktionen af de frivilliges sociale profil. Den empiriske forskning har også vist, at frivillige har en højere beskæftigelsesfrekvens, højere beskæftigelsesstatus, mere veludbyggede sociale netværk og i højere grad besidder kulturelle normer og værdier, der vægter prosociale aktiviteter (Fridberg 2014b; Musick & Wilson 2008). Som Wilson antyder, er en mulig svaghed ved denne forskning dog, at der tegnes en social profil for *alle* frivillige – uagtet hvilken type frivilligt arbejde, de beskæftiger sig med (Wilson 2000). Men ligesom med betalt arbejde, kan det forventes, at der også inden for det frivillige arbejde findes en social stratifikation, hvor nogle arbejdsopgaver er mindre ressourcekrævende eller er af lavere status. Sådanne arbejdsopgaver vil måske i højere grad appellere til mindre ressourcestærke individer.

I artikel 2 "*Volunteer Care Workers: A Case for Challenging Resource Theories on Volunteering*" udfoldes argumentet om, at forskellige arbejdsopgaver kan rykke ved den sociale profil for frivillige både empirisk og teoretisk. Artiklen fokuserer på at udskille det frivillige arbejde inden for social- og sundhedsområdet, fordi det antages, at det omsorgsbetonede frivillige arbejde finder sted inden for dette arbejdsområde – såsom omsorg for udsatte børn, hjemløse, svagelige ældre og handicappede¹⁴. Blot 20 % af de frivillige i Danmark findes på social- og sundhedsområdet, hvilket er langt lavere end i lande med mindre omfattende velfærdsstater (Salamon et al. 2003; Stadelmann-Steffen

¹⁴ Det betyder *ikke*, at *alt* det frivillige arbejde inden for social- og sundhedsområdet kan antages at være omsorgsarbejde. Men af de 12 arbejdsområder, er det inden for disse to arbejdsområder, at individer, der udfører omsorgsbetonet frivilligt arbejde, bør findes (Salamon & Anheier 1997).

2011), men med velfærdsstatens økonomiske udfordringer, er det netop denne gruppe af frivillige, der er i fokus på politisk plan (Aarup 2010; La Cour 2010).

Det er dog tvivlsomt, om de frivillige på social- og sundhedsområdet passer ind i den generelle sociale profil for frivillige. Det bliver klart, når litteraturen om omsorgsarbejde gennemgås. Teorihistorisk udspringer studiet af omsorg fra en feministisk bekymring for køn, magt og lighed. Inden for denne teoriretning er der i højere grad fokus på omsorgsarbejde som en pligt, der opfyldes af lavstatusindivider og kvinder, eftersom disse grupper har færre muligheder for at forhandle deres sociale roller (Daly & Lewis 1998; 2000). Betegnelsen obligatorisk altruisme (*compulsory altruism*) bruges i den forbindelse. Et oprindeligt feministisk fokus har været på de ulemper, der følger med ubetalte forpligtelser i hjemmet – specifikt fordi tid og energi anvendes for at opfylde andres frem for egne behov og ønsker. Modsat ressource teorien, lader omsorgslitteraturen altså til at hvile på helt andre antagelser om, hvordan den sociale profil for frivillige inden for social- og sundhedsområdet ser ud. I sidste ende kan denne tilsyneladende strid mellem de to litteraturer afgøres empirisk ved at undersøge den sociale profil for frivillige inden for social- og sundhedsområdet – hvor de omsorgsfrivillige udgør en stor del af de frivillige – og sammenholde denne profil med frivillige inden for øvrige arbejdsområder. Dette gøres i artiklen.

Analysen viser generelt signifikante forskelle på omsorgsfrivillige og de øvrige frivillige målt på centrale indikatorer på humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer. Forskellene er særligt tydelige, når der ses på klassiske indikatorer på social stratifikation: uddannelse og beskæftigelse. Øget uddannelse, som betegnes som den måske vigtigste indikator på frivilligt arbejde (Wilson 2012), har ingen betydning for omsorgsfrivillighed, men har en stærkt signifikant betydning for det øvrige frivillige arbejde. Lønarbejde som funktionær, der er den højeste beskæftigelseskategori i survey, har desuden ingen positiv betydning for omsorgsfrivillighed men signifikant positiv betydning for øvrig frivillighed. Også på indikatorer på social kapital er der klare forskelle. De omsorgsfrivillige har ikke mere veludbyggede sociale netværk end ikke-frivillige. Desuden bakker analysen op om den feministiske litteratur ved at fremhæve, at frivilligt arbejde er en kønnet aktivitet: Mens mænd vælger ikke-omsorgsbetonet frivilligt arbejde som idræt, politik, kultur med videre, er kvindernes rolle i frivillige indsats i højere grad at finde på omsorgsområdet.

Med artikel 2 har det altså været muligt dels at bekræfte ressource teorien ved at påvise, at individer, der er engageret i ekspressivt frivilligt arbejde, i høj grad kan identificeres på baggrund af indikatorer på høj human, social og kulturel kapital. Men det har også været muligt at optegne tydelige grænser for ressource teoriens anvendelsesmuligheder, specifikt i forhold til at forklare det tiltagende vigtige frivillige omsorgsarbejde. I forhold til frivilligt omsorgsarbejde lader normer og sociale roller – især kønsroller – frem for kapitalressourcer derimod til at have en betydelig forklaringskraft.

Endnu en mulig grænse for applikationen af ressourceteorien er, hvorvidt kapitalressourcer kan bruges til at forklare mere end blot valget om at blive frivillig. Et tidligere dansk studie viser for eksempel, at kapitalressourcer overvejende skal ses som vigtige for at få adgang til det frivillige arbejde, men disse højressourceindivider yder ikke en større tidsmæssig arbejdsindsats (Qvist 2015). I artikel 3 "*De stabile frivillige: Betydningen af kapitalressourcer, livsfaser og organisatorisk kontekst for vedvarende frivilligt arbejde*" undersøges det, hvorvidt personer, der har større sandsynlighed for at blive frivillige, fordi de i højere grad besidder en række vigtige kapitalressourcer, også i højere grad forbliver frivillige over længere tid. Stabilt frivilligt arbejde er et vigtigt emne, fordi en indsats over længere tidsperioder betyder en forøget total arbejdsindsats, samt sparer frivillige foreninger og organisationer for omkostninger ved at værge og træne nye frivillige (Miller et al. 1990).

I artikel 3 udfordres ressourceteorien ved at inddrage faktorer ved den organisatoriske kontekst i forklaringen på vedvarende frivilligt arbejde: tidsinvestering og medlemskab. Det argumenteres, at personer, der vælger at investere større mængder af tid eller engagere sig som medlemmer, vil opleve en stærkere identifikation med den enkelte frivillige organisationen og dens målsætninger foruden rollen som frivillig som sådan, og dermed have sværere ved at opgive det frivillige arbejde igen – på trods af lavere kapitalressourcer (Cuskelly & Boag 2001; Meyer et al. 2002).

Artiklen viser, at centrale humane kapitalressourcer såsom uddannelse og beskæftigelse helt mister deres signifikante positive indflydelse, når der er tale om vedvarende frivilligt arbejde. Faktisk har betalt beskæftigelse med ufleksible arbejdstider en signifikant negativ effekt for vedvarende frivilligt engagement. Desuden har social kapital målt som sociale netværk kun en moderat betydning. Derimod er der en klar signifikant effekt af målene fra den organisatoriske kontekst: Både at være medlem af den organisation, arbejdet udføres for, samt arbejdsintensiteten har en stærk og signifikant indvirkning på stabilt frivilligt engagement. Generelt leder dette resultat mod en konklusion om, at (især humane) kapitalressourcer i mindre grad kan forklare stabilt frivilligt arbejde frem for blot påbegyndelse af frivilligt arbejde. Derimod kan det argumenteres, at individer, der er engageret i en tidsmæssigt og organisatorisk vigtig rolle, udvikler et forpligtende engagement, som gør det sværere at opgive det frivillige arbejde igen (Cuskelly & Boag 2001; Meyer et al. 2002).

Frivilligt arbejde som en investering

Når sociologiske undersøgelser som denne er interesserede i de frivilliges sociale profil, skyldes det blandt andet en forståelse af, at der kan forekomme en "*participatory inequality*" i deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde. Det vil sige, at det i højere grad er bestemte socialgrupper, der kan nyde godt af det frivillige arbejdes mange fordele (van Ingen & van der Meer 2011). Frivillige leverer nemlig ikke kun ydelser til fordel for andre, men de frivillige antages også selv at modtage et afkast af det frivillige arbejde: for eksempel i form af en god samvittighed, social anerkendelse, selvrealisering, velvære og meget

andet (Andreoni 1990; Hustinx 2010b; Ruiter & De Graaf 2009; Thoits & Hewitt 2001). I den forbindelse har sociologer og økonomer påpeget, at frivilligt arbejde kan være en måde at *investere i* sociale, humane og kulturelle ressourcer, hvilket ultimativt kan gavne den frivilliges status på det betalte arbejdsmarked (Corden 2002; Day & Devlin 1998; Menchik & Weisbrod 1987; V. Smith 2010; Spera et al. 2015).

Det er dog uvist, hvorvidt en tidsinvestering i det frivillige arbejde rent faktisk har den ønskede effekt. Selvom der findes empiriske undersøgelser, der påviser en effekt af frivilligt arbejde på beskæftigelse (f.eks. Konstam et al. 2015; Paine et al. 2013; Spera et al. 2015), har disse studier ikke været i stand til at tage hånd om de selektionsproblemer, der opstår, når det – som det er påvist i denne afhandling og andre studier – generelt set er de personer, der i forvejen er ressourcestærke, der påbegynder frivilligt arbejde (Spera et al. 2015). For at udfylde dette hul i forskningen på området vil artikel 4 *“The Effect of Volunteer Work on Employability: A Study with Danish Administrative Register and Survey Data”* undersøge, om frivilligt arbejde har en positiv *kausaleffekt* på beskæftigelse. Specifikt undersøges det, om frivillige har en lavere risiko for at opleve arbejdsløshed samt oplever en mindre mængde af arbejdsløshed, såfremt de bliver arbejdsløse.

Artiklens teoretiske udgangspunkt ligger til dels i employability-litteraturen, der ser employability som graden af individers totale humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer, der kan investeres i nye muligheder enten inden eller uden for den nuværende arbejdsplads (McQuaid & Lindsay 2005; Smith 2010). At deltage i aktiviteter, der forøger disse kapitalressourcer, vil øge individers employability og dermed reducere arbejdsløshed (Smith 2010). En sådan aktivitet kan være frivilligt arbejde (Spera et al. 2015). Det argumenteres, at frivilligt arbejde kan forøge human kapital, da frivilligt arbejde er en produktiv aktivitet, hvor konkrete færdigheder i forbindelse med for eksempel ledelse af andre frivillige, opdatering af hjemmesider og ansøgning om fondsmidlers styrkes i praksis (Menchik & Weisbrod 1987; Wilson & Musick 2003). Og eftersom frivillige foreninger er et formaliseret socialt netværk af individer, der befinder sig uden for den frivilliges umiddelbare sociale netværk af familie og venner, kan disse foreninger give adgang til information om jobmuligheder, der er indlejret i netop de mere fjerne sociale netværk (Day & Devlin 1998; Granovetter 1973; 1995; Menchik & Weisbrod 1987; Wilson & Musick 2003). Og endeligt fordi frivilligt arbejde er en aktivitet, der ses positivt på i samfundet, kan frivillige også nyde en højere social anerkendelse, hvilket kan være nyttigt, da arbejdsgivere leder efter fremtidige ansatte med integritet og arbejdsmoral (Smith 2010; Spera et al. 2015).

For at håndtere selektionsproblemer, der opstår på baggrund af at frivillige både antages at være selekterede og selv-selekterede blandt ressourcestærke individer, anvender studiet en kombination af detaljerede kontrolvariable for både individer og deres forældre, lagged dependent variables samt instrumentalvariabelregression.

Det konkluderes, at frivillige generelt ikke har hverken lavere risiko for at opleve arbejdsløshed ej heller oplever mindre arbejdsløshed, hvis de bliver arbejdsløse – når

altså først der justeres for selektionen af højressourceindivider ind i det frivillige arbejde. Robustheden af denne konklusion udfordres ved at undersøge, hvorvidt specifikt frivilligt arbejde af større tidsmæssigt omfang eller i forbindelse med bestyrelsesarbejde har en positiv effekt. Det har det generelt ikke. Ud over en mulig positiv effekt for bestyrelsesmedlemmer, der bruger mindre en 50 timer om året på deres arbejde, finder studiet ingen effekt. Faktisk viser artiklen, at jo mere tid, der bruges på det frivillige arbejde, jo mere sandsynligt er det, at den frivillige ikke vil opleve en positiv effekt af det frivillige arbejde på sin employability.

Disse resultater har både betydning for ressourceteorien og begrebsliggørelsen af frivilligt arbejde som et arbejde. Når artiklen ikke finder en effekt af frivilligt arbejde på employability, så kan det implicere, at den produktive viden og færdigheder, der opbygges i det frivillige arbejde, ikke umiddelbart kan oversættes til det betalte arbejde. Desuden lader det til, at de sociale netværk, der opbygges gennem deltagelsen i frivillige foreninger og organisationer, modsat det betalte arbejde der foregår inden for en afgrænset branche, ikke bærer informationer, der er relevante for at opnå betalt beskæftigelse. Til sidst lader det til, at den signalværdi, der sendes ved at arbejde frivilligt, ikke belønnes tilstrækkeligt af arbejdsgivere, hvilket synes at vise, at arbejdsgivere ikke opfatter det frivillige arbejde på linje med betalt arbejde.

En social profil af giverne

Som beskrevet findes der grundlæggende set to måder individer kan bidrage til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren på: ved at donere deres tid (arbejde frivilligt) eller deres penge (pengegaver). Ligesom med frivilligt arbejde, har der været en generel samfundsvidenskabelig interesse i at bestemme den sociale profil for personer, der giver pengegaver. I modsætning til frivilligt arbejde, har økonomiske ressourcer dog i højere grad været i fokus – også inden for sociologien (Taxhjelm 2014; Wiepking & Maas 2009). Artikel 5 "*Whether and How Much to Give: Uncovering the Contrasting Determinants of the Decisions of Whether and How Much to Give to Charity with Two-Part Alternatives to the Prevailing Tobit Model*" bidrager til at tegne en sådan social profil: dels af hvem der giver pengegaver, og dels af hvem der giver større pengegaver¹⁵. Artiklen kaster desuden et kritisk blik på, hvilken rolle økonomiske ressourcer bør have, når den sociale profil for giverne tegnes.

I artiklen argumenteres det, at siden pengegaver involverer overførslen af penge til en frivillig- eller nonprofitorganisation, er det fundamentalt en økonomisk beslutning. Dermed bør det forventes, at økonomiske ressourcer er vigtige, da individer med flere økonomiske ressourcer i højere grad kan undvære penge til ikke-essentielle goder såsom velgørenhed (List 2011). Desuden medfører pengegaver, at et individ vælger at udsætte

¹⁵ Artiklen har i høj grad også en metodisk pointe om at tilskynde forskere til at anvende økonometriske modeller, der imødekommer forskellen på beslutningen om at give og hvor meget at give. Men i denne resultatsektion er det kun artiklens faglige og ikke metodiske resultater, der skrives frem.

sig selv for en privat udgift, som overvejende er til fordel for andre. Den rene egeninteresse, som ofte kan antages at styre økonomiske beslutninger, kan dermed ikke stå alene (Andreoni 1990; Wittek & Bekkers 2015). At give pengegaver er derimod også en prosocial handling, og det kan derfor forventes at sociale roller og normer, der er med til at begrænse den rene egeninteresse og således styre individets præferencer mod prosociale handlinger, har en indvirkning (Batson & Powell 2003; Lee et al. 1999).

Det er dog nødvendigt at være opmærksom på, at pengegaver involverer to beslutninger: *hvorvidt* og *hvor meget* der gives. I beslutningen om hvorvidt, der gives, bør økonomiske ressourcer spille en lille rolle, hvis overhovedet nogen, siden det i de fleste tilfælde er muligt at give et beløb som individer i de fleste grupper vil betragte som trivielt (Kirchgässner 1992; Smith et al. 1995; Wiepking 2007). I den efterfølgende beslutning om, hvor meget der gives, bliver individer derimod nødt til at overveje det præcise omfang af deres præferencer for pengegaver under begrænsninger af økonomiske ressourcer (Kirchgässner 1992; 2010). I beslutningen om, hvor meget der skal gives, bliver både økonomiske ressourcer samt sociale roller og normer relevante.

Artiklens resultater viser, at pengegaver involverer to meget distinkte beslutninger: hvorvidt og hvor meget, der skal gives. Disse beslutninger adskilles af, at beslutning om hvor meget at give er langt mere økonomisk end beslutningen om hvorvidt at give. Dette ses ved, at – på nær for den absolut laveste indkomstgruppe – findes der ingen effekt af indkomst på, hvorvidt et individ giver pengegaver, men der findes derimod en stærkt signifikant effekt af indkomst på, hvor meget der gives for alle indkomstgrupper. Det ses også, at begge beslutninger i udpræget grad er prosociale, eftersom de sociale roller og normer, der normalt er associeret med prosociale beslutninger – såsom køn, religiøsitet, generaliseret tillid og sociale netværk – i høj grad påvirker begge beslutninger. Men disse faktorer har dog ikke nødvendigvis en homogen indflydelse på begge beslutninger. Kvinder har for eksempel en højere sandsynlighed for at give, men giver mindre end mænd – selv når økonomiske ressourcer holdes konstant. Det argumenteres, at dette skyldes, at kvinder agerer efter en prosocial kønsrolle, der gør det mere sandsynligt, at de accepterer en anmodning om at give, selv når de har lavere præferencer for at give. Mænd udgør dermed en selvselekeret gruppe af individer med særligt høje præferencer for at give, og dermed giver de i gennemsnit mere end kvinder (Kottasz 2004).

Konklusion

Ph.d.-afhandlingen har undersøgt de faktorer, der påvirker individers valg om at donere deres tid eller penge til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren, samt hvilken betydning dette valg har for donorerne selv. Fordi afhandlingen tog sit udgangspunkt i den integrerede teori, var det overordnede fokus på at undersøge, hvorvidt og hvordan økonomiske, humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer på den ene side påvirkede forskellige aspekter af valget om at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver og på den anden side blev påvirket af netop dette valg.

I den forbindelse skulle følgende overordnede forskningsspørgsmål adresseres:

Hvorvidt og hvordan påvirker kapitalressourcer individers beslutning om at donere deres tid eller penge til frivillig- og nonprofitsektoren?

Samt:

Hvilken betydning har valget om at donere sin tid for den frivilliges egen beholdning af kapitalressourcer?

Fordi afhandlingen består af fem artikler, der er udformet som separate studier, adresseres de overordnede forskningsspørgsmål reelt med enkeltstående empiriske fund. På baggrund af disse fund drages der dog i resten af denne konklusion nogle overordnede konklusioner for samlet at besvare forskningsspørgsmålene.

Samlet set har afhandlingens artikler kunnet påvise en betydelig påvirkning af kapitalressourcer på mange forskellige aspekter af beslutningen om at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver. Det var specifikt muligt at bekræfte en stærk indflydelse af en lang række humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer – såsom uddannelse, beskæftigelse, helbred, sociale netværk og tradition for frivilligt arbejde – på hvorvidt et individ påbegynder frivilligt arbejde inden for ekspressive arbejdsområder såsom kultur, idræt, politik med videre (artikel 1 & 2). Det var til dels også muligt at bekræfte en effekt af kapitalressourcer på beslutningen om at fortsætte i frivilligt arbejde, om end det kun var sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer, der her havde en betydning i den sammenhæng (artikel 3). Endeligt kunne der påvises en effekt af økonomisk kapital på, hvor meget individer giver i pengegaver, foruden at sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer havde en betydning for både beslutningen om, hvorvidt og meget et individ gav i pengegaver (artikel 5). Disse fund peger samlet tydeligt på, at kapitalressourcer ganske ofte spiller en vigtig rolle for at muliggøre individers engagement i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver. Og forskningens vedvarende fokus på den ulige mulighed for at deltage i frivilligt arbejde eller give pengegaver kan dermed legitimeres af afhandlingen.

Afhandlingens artikler påpegede dog også en række problematikker, der opstod i forbindelse med at forklare engagementet i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver udelukkende

ved hjælp af individuelle kapitalressourcer – jævnfør den integrerede teori. Disse problematikker er i mindre grad adresseret tidligere i forskningslitteraturen og lægger op til en række ændringer i den måde, forskningen går til studiet af frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver.

Den første problematik drejer sig om individuelle og inter-generationelle ressourcer. Den integrerede teori og afledt forskning fokuserer på ressourcer, der kan tilskrives individet selv. Denne afhandling har dog kunnet påpege, at noget af den effekt, som forskere tilskriver egen uddannelse, i virkeligheden kan forklares med forældres uddannelse (artikel 1). Dette peger på, at de ulige muligheder for at tage del i frivilligt arbejde kan spores i hvert fald en generation tilbage, og dermed kan den integrerede teoris ressource-perspektiv knyttes an til et klassisk sociologisk perspektiv om inter-generationel transmission af ressourcer. Dette skal *ikke* forstås som en afvisning af den integrerede teori, men snarere en påpegning af, at mål for kapitalressourcer på individ-niveau også indfanger disse inter-generationelle ressourcer – og dette må fremover inkluderes i fortolkningen af resultaterne.

En anden overordnet problematik ved anvendelsen af den integrerede teoris ressource-perspektiv stammer fra teoriens gennemgående fokus på, at frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver generelt er en positiv aktivitet som bestemte kapitalressourcer giver individet muligheder for at deltage i. Med denne tilgang mister vi dog forståelsen for, at engagementet i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver ikke udelukkende er en *mulighed* men også en *forpligtelse*, som tilskyndes ud fra en efterlevelse af sociale normer og roller. En række empiriske fund understreger den betragtning.

For det første blev det påvist, at en lang række af de vigtige humane og sociale kapitalressourcer ikke har nogen betydning for, hvorvidt individer påbegynder frivilligt arbejde inden for social- og sundhedsområdet. Derimod viste det sig, at kvinder, som oftere oplever en forpligtelse til at påtage sig omsorgsopgaver, oftere arbejder frivilligt inden for social og sundhedsområdet, hvor størstedelen af omsorgsarbejdet forventes at finde sted. Mænd har derimod en tendens til at vælge frivilligt arbejde med en klarere ekspressiv karakter. En identifikation med moralske værdier, der fremhæver frivilligt arbejde som en pligt, havde ydermere en klar betydning for at tage del i frivilligt arbejde inden for social- og sundhedsområdet, men ikke det ekspressive frivillige arbejde (artikel 2). Begge disse fund peger på, at især frivilligt socialt arbejde kan være en måde hvormed individer opfylder en forpligtelse, som er tilknyttet deres sociale rolle eller identifikation med sociale normer – frem for at frivilligt arbejde er en aktivitet, som en høj beholdning af kapitalressourcer giver muligheden for at deltage i.

Netop de frivillige inden for social og sundhedsområdet er vigtige i og med, at velfærdsstaten udsættes for kontinuerlige besparelser, og frivillige til en vis grad forventes at overtage disse opgaver. At forpligtelser frem for muligheder og kapitalressourcer driver den frivillige sociale indsats kan på politisk plan give eftertanke om, om frivillige bør løfte disse opgaver. For den fremtidige forskning bør dette resultat

desuden medføre en større opmærksomhed på denne opdeling af frivilligt arbejde i sociale og ekspressive aktiviteter – især når den sociale profil for de frivillige er i fokus.

Endnu et punkt, hvor kapitalressourcer ikke fuldt ud kunne forklare de empiriske fund, var ved vedvarende frivilligt arbejde. Her viste det sig, at humane kapitalressourcer – specifikt uddannelse og betalt beskæftigelse – der ellers er helt centrale for, hvorvidt et individ begynder at arbejde frivilligt, ikke havde nogen betydning for, hvorvidt individer fortsætter i det frivillige arbejde. Det var til gengæld muligt at påvise betydningen af tidsforbruget på frivilligt arbejde, og hvorvidt den frivillige var medlem (artikel 3). Betydningen af tidsforbrug og medlemskab kan til dels forklares ved, at disse er indikatorer på en identifikation med rollen som frivillig generelt – og specifikt i relation den konkrete organisation, som det frivillige arbejde udføres for. Denne identifikation kan skabe en oplevelse af *forpligtelse*, der er med til at fastholde det enkelte individ i det frivillige arbejde.

Denne indsigt er vigtig for det bredere samfund, fordi der både i Danmark og internationalt findes en omstrukturering af organiseringen af frivilligt arbejde mod uforpligtende former, som er ikke-medlemsbaserede og mindre arbejdsintensive. Afhandlingen viser, at dette potentielt kan medføre en frivillig sektor, som har sværere ved at holde på sin arbejdsstyrke og dermed sværere ved at levere de offentlige goder, som samfundet generelt nyder godt af. For forskningen bør dette resultat medføre et fokus, der ikke bare er rettet mod de rent individfokuserede faktorer såsom kapitalressourcer, men også betydningen af den bredere organisatorisk kontekst for frivilligt arbejde.

Endeligt blev det påvist, at økonomiske kapitalressourcer generelt ikke havde nogen effekt på, hvorvidt et individ gav pengegaver – kun hvor meget et individ gav i pengegaver. En række sociale roller og normer, som i den integrerede teoris perspektiv kan betegnes som sociale og kultrulle kapitalressourcer, havde dog en effekt på begge beslutninger. Men mens en kvinder i højere grad giver pengegaver, er det mænd, der giver mest, når de giver (artikel 5). Dette kan tolkes som, at kvinder har en tendens til at acceptere en anmodning om at give pengegaver, også selvom de i gennemsnit har lavere præferencer for at give og dermed giver mindre end mænd. Frem for blot at se sociale roller såsom den kvindelige kønsrolle som en ressource for pengegaver, var det i denne sammenhæng altså nyttigt med en fortolkning af, at kvinder i højere grad oplever en forpligtelse til at give pengegaver.

Afhandlingens andet hovedspørgsmål var, om frivilligt arbejde ikke blot kræver kapitalressourcer men også bidrager til individets beholdning af kapitalressourcer. Dette kunne ikke bekræftes, når der blev set specifikt på employability – hvilket blev defineret som en samling af erhvervsrelevante humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer. Specifikt konkluderes det, at frivilligt arbejde generelt hverken reducerer risikoen for eller omfanget af arbejdsløshed, selv når der tages højde for tidsforbrug og typen af frivilligt arbejde (artikel 4).

Resultatet er vigtigt, fordi frivillige samt frivillige- og nonprofitorganisationer ofte anvender afkast i form af employability som et motiv for at arbejde frivilligt. Desuden er anvendelse af frivilligt arbejde som en art aktivering af arbejdsløse blevet relevant på politisk niveau. Dette kommer konkret til udtryk ved, at dagpengereglerne for nylig er blevet ændret for at tillade et større omfang af frivilligt arbejde (Lov nr. 225 af 03/03/2015). På baggrund af denne afhandling må man dog forholde sig kritisk over for effektiviteten af at anvende frivilligt arbejde som en strategi for at komme i betalt beskæftigelse.

Den konklusion har desuden bredere implikationer for forskningen i afkastet af frivilligt arbejde. Der findes en lang række andre private goder – ud over employability – som det antages, at frivilligt arbejde vil bringe den enkelte frivillige. At dette studie finder, at enhver employability-effekt af frivilligt arbejde kan tilskrives selektion af højressource-individer ind i frivilligt arbejde er med til at understrege en generel metodisk pointe om, at flere af disse private goder muligvis kan tilskrives selvselektion. Dette bør medføre et større metodisk fokus på endogenitetsproblemer for den fremtidige forskning i afkastet ved frivilligt arbejde.

Resumé

Emnet for denne ph.d.-afhandling er frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver. Mere specifikt så undersøges forholdet mellem økonomiske, humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer på den ene side og individers valg om at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver på den anden.

Afhandlingen tager sit primære teoretiske udgangspunkt i den sociologiske integrerede teori. Teorien antager, at det kan være attraktivt at arbejde frivilligt eller give pengegaver, eftersom individer herved kan bidrage til andres velfærd og selv kan opnå en god samvittighed, social anerkendelse, selvrealisering, eller forhøjet employability. Men selvom mange måske ønsker at tage del i disse aktiviteter, kan det være ressourcekrævende. Dermed opstår der en "*participatory inequality*", hvilket vil sige, at bestemte socialgrupper i højere grad kan tage del i disse aktiviteter. I relation til frivilligt arbejde argumenteres det mere specifikt, at fordi frivillighed er en produktiv aktivitet, kræver det human kapital (uddannelse og erhvervserfaring); fordi frivilligt arbejde udføres kollektivt, kræver det social kapital (sociale netværk); og fordi det frivillige arbejde styres af etik, kræver det kulturel kapital (tradition og normer). I relation til pengegaver argumenteres det, at fordi det koster penge at give penge, kræver deltagelsen i denne aktivitet økonomisk kapital (indkomst).

Data kommer fra danske survey af høj kvalitet, Frivillighedsundersøgelserne 2004 (n=3.134) og 2012 (n=2.809), som er beriget med registerdata på individniveau fra Danmarks Statistik.

Afhandlingen bekræfter til dels, at en række forskellige aspekter af engagementet i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver kan forklares ved hjælp af individets kapitalressourcer. Det kan således vises, at tilbøjeligheden til at påbegynde ekspressivt frivilligt arbejde (såsom arbejde inden for idræt, kultur, politik med videre) er stærkt afhængigt af humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer, samt at det at fortsætte i frivilligt arbejde til dels er afhængigt af sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer. Samtidig viser det sig, at højere grader af sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer positivt påvirker både beslutningen om, hvorvidt og hvor meget et individ giver i pengegaver, foruden at det donerede beløb i pengegaver er afhængigt af økonomiske kapitalressourcer.

Det er dog også muligt at påvise nogle problematikker ved at forklare engagementet i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver udelukkende som aktiviteter, som høje niveauer af individuelle kapitalressourcer giver muligheden for at deltage i – jævnfør den integrerede teori.

For det første kan det påvises, at noget af den effekt, som forskere tilskriver egen uddannelse, i virkeligheden kan forklares med forældres uddannelse. Dermed må det individfokuserede ressourceperspektiv udvides med en forståelse af inter-generationelle ressourcer.

Desuden pegede en række fund på en mere substantiel problematik ved ressource-teori: at engagementet i frivilligt arbejde og pengegaver ikke udelukkende er en *mulighed*, som kapitalressourcer giver adgang til, men også en *forpligtelse*, som følger

af en konformitet med sociale normer og roller. En række empiriske fund understreger den betragtning.

Humane og sociale kapitalressourcer har ikke en positiv effekt på tilbøjeligheden til at deltage i frivilligt socialt arbejde. Det havde en kvindelig kønsrolle og en identifikation med normer om, at frivilligt arbejde er en pligt, til gengæld. Disse fund peger på en social rolle og norm-baseret forklaringsmodel.

Centrale humane kapitalressourcer har heller ikke en effekt på at fortsætte i frivilligt arbejde. Det har et forøget tidsforbrug og medlemskab derimod, hvilket kan forklares ved, at disse indikerer, at et individ har påtaget sig en forpligtende rolle som frivillig inden for en bestemt frivillig- og nonprofitorganisation.

Desuden er tilbøjeligheden til at donere ikke afhængig af økonomiske ressourcer, kun hvor meget der bliver doneret. Samme studier viser, at kvinder er mere tilbøjelige til at donere end mænd, om end de giver mindre. Dette kan tolkes som, at kvinder i højere grad oplever en forpligtelse til at give, selvom de har lavere præferencer for at give og derfor giver mindre.

Endeligt undersøger afhandlingen også afkastet ved frivilligt arbejde. I den forbindelse blev det vist, at der generelt ikke findes en positiv effekt af frivilligt arbejde på employability – som bliver defineret som et individs beholdning af erhvervsrelevante humane, sociale og kulturelle kapitalressourcer – eftersom frivillige hverken har en lavere tilbøjelighed til at blive arbejdsløse og heller ikke er arbejdsløse i kortere tid, når de bliver arbejdsløse.

Summary in English

The topic of this Ph.D. dissertation is volunteer work and charitable giving. Specifically, the dissertation examines the relationship between economic, human, social, and cultural capital resources on one hand and an individual's decision to perform volunteer work or give to charity on the other.

The dissertation takes its primary theoretical point of departure in the sociological resource theory. This theory asserts that it may be attractive to take on voluntary work or give to charity since these activities may provide welfare for others and provide us with a warm glow, social recognition, self-realization, or increased employability. However, even though many individuals may wish to partake in volunteer work, it is resource demanding to do so. This results in a participatory inequality—meaning that certain social groups may be able to take part in these activities to a larger degree. In relation to volunteer work, it is argued that since volunteer work is a productive activity it requires human capital (education and work experience); because it is performed collectively it requires social capital (social networks); and because it is guided by ethics it requires cultural capital (norms and traditions). In relation to charitable giving, it is argued that since it costs money to give money, participation in this activity requires economic capital (income).

In order to examine the assumptions made by the resource theory, the dissertation utilizes the newest representative survey data, The Danish Volunteer Survey 2004 (n=3,134) and 2012 (n=2,809), which is combined with individual level register data from Statistics Denmark.

The dissertation, in part, confirms that several different aspects of the participation in volunteer work and charitable giving can be explained by an individual's level of capital resources. It is shown that the propensity to perform expressive voluntary work (such as within sport, culture, politics, etc.) are highly dependent on human, social and cultural capital resources and furthermore that sustained volunteering over a longer period of time is partly dependent on social and cultural capital resources. It is also shown that higher degrees of social and cultural capital resources positively affect both the decisions of whether and how much an individual gives to charitable causes, and that the donated amount is highly dependent upon economic capital.

However, the dissertation also reveals key issues with explaining the engagement in charitable giving solely as activities which high levels of individual capital resources enable—as the integrated theory presumes.

First, it is shown that some of the effect researchers attribute to an individual's own level of education is in fact due to parents' level of education. Therefore, the individual-focused resource perspective should be expanded with an understanding of intergenerational resources.

Moreover, a more substantive issue pertaining to resource theory is highlighted: The fact that engagement in volunteer work and charitable giving not only represents opportunities which capital resources provide access to, but are also an obligation

imposed on individuals through conformity in accordance with social norms and roles. A number of empirical findings underline this perspective.

Human and social capital resources do not have a positive effect on the propensity to participate in volunteer care work. However, a female gender role and an identification with the norm of voluntary work as a moral duty does.

Key human capital resources do not predict sustained volunteer work. However, increased time spent volunteering and being a member of a voluntary or nonprofit organization does. This may indicate that these individuals have binding roles as volunteers within a certain voluntary and nonprofit organization.

Additionally, the propensity to give to charity does not depend on economic resources—only the size of the donation does. The same studies show that women rather than men are more likely to donate, although they give less. This can be interpreted as women increasingly feeling an obligation to give, even though they have lower preferences for giving and therefore give less.

Finally, the thesis examines the individual returns of volunteering. It is shown that, in general, there is not a positive effect of volunteering on employability—which is defined as an individual's level of employment-related human, social and cultural capital resources—since volunteers neither have a lower propensity to become unemployed, nor do they become unemployed for less time when they become unemployed.

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Artikel 1

Volunteers Come From Educated Homes: The Link Between Parents' Level of Education and Their Adult Children's Propensity to Perform Volunteer Work

Erik Petrovski

An individual's level of education has been found to be the single most important predictor of whether one engages in volunteer work. But less often are researchers focused on determining the importance of the level of education of parents. In this study, high-quality Danish administrative register and survey data is used in order to establish a significant link between parents' level of education and an individual's propensity to perform volunteer work. Two significant mediation mechanisms are found to explain the bulk of this relationship: (1) social status transmission and (2) role modelling. Both mediate the relationship to a similar high degree, however, the majority of the effect of parents' level of education comes through social status transmission.

Introduction

When individuals volunteer, they give up some of their own free time in order to provide valuable goods and services for the benefit of their community and the wider society they live in (Wittek & Bekkers 2015). But volunteering is not only beneficial to others, it is also beneficial to the volunteer him or herself in multiple ways. Volunteering may provide a warm glow in exchange for one's good deeds and can be way to gain social approval from others (Andreoni 1990). When one pursues one's interests through volunteering, e.g. a passion for history by volunteering as a museum guide, volunteering may furthermore become a way to achieve self-fulfillment (Thoits & Hewitt 2001). Finally, volunteers may wield sizable political influence on the board of directors at nonprofit organizations (Moore & Whitt 2000) and volunteering may boost one's résumé and professional network (Spera et al. 2015).

In part, because volunteering is so integral to the welfare of volunteers themselves, it is only natural for social researchers—and sociologists in particular—to be concerned with the social profile of individuals who perform volunteer work. Across national contexts, researchers have found that volunteers tend to be high resource members of society: socially well-connected, culturally aware, and above all, highly educated (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson 2012; Wilson & Musick 1997). Education is argued to be all-important for volunteering since it is associated with the skills, social connections, and cultural values that enables one to partake in volunteer work (Musick & Wilson 2008).

Much of the research on this topic of so-called “participatory inequality” (van Ingen & van der Meer 2011) has been focused primarily on the influence of the education of the individual him or herself and less so with the educational background of parents (e.g. Musick & Wilson 2008; Schofer & Longhofer 2011; Smith 1994; Wilson 2000). However, as with other activities that are correlated with social status measures such as education, the tendency and resources required to volunteer could be transferred from one generation to the next. Our propensity to volunteer may therefore not just be determined by who *we* are but also who our *parents* are.

In the relevant literature on the intergenerational transmission of volunteer work, there are two distinct pathways through which parental education is argued to influence one’s propensity to volunteer. First, reproduction of social status, in which educational attainment, and therefore the resources that enable volunteer work, is transferred from one generation to the next. Second, role modelling, in which highly educated parents are more likely to set an example as volunteers and thereby influence the values of their children towards volunteering (Bekkers 2007).

In order to explore the influence of parents’ level of education on the propensity to perform volunteer work, this study utilizes high-quality Danish survey data from 2012, combined with administrative registers on the exact educational background of survey participants and their parents. The theoretical assumptions are tested with mediation analysis, which is performed within a generalized structural equation modelling (SEM) framework.

The empirical model confirms the hypothesis that propensity to perform volunteer work significantly depends on parents’ level of education. The significance of the two mediation pathways—social status transmission and social learning—is furthermore confirmed. Specifically, it is found that each year of additional education of parents increases the propensity to perform volunteer work by 1.3 %, given demographic controls. It is found that social status transmission mediates 37 % of this effect and social learning mediates 28 % of this effect.

This article adds to the existing literature on the intergenerational transmission of volunteer work in two ways. First, previous studies have relied on odd non-representative samples (Janoski & Wilson 1995) and subjective measures of education, which may be prone to recall bias (e.g. Bekkers 2007; Janoski & Wilson 1995; Mustillo et al. 2004; Perks & Konecny 2015; Quaranta & Sani 2016). This study introduces better data to the field by using a more representative sample and a very precise measure of education from administrative registers. Second, an appropriate mediation analysis is applied since this allows for determining the significance and strength of different mediation mechanisms—rather than relying on regular regression models with interaction terms that do not explicitly model mediation as previous studies have done (e.g. Bekkers 2007; Janoski & Wilson 1995; Mustillo et al. 2004; Perks & Konecny 2015; Quaranta & Sani 2016).

Education as a Predictor of Volunteer Work

Within sociological studies of volunteer work, there exists a strong focus on those resources that enable volunteering to take place (Einolf & Chambré 2011; Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000). This focus arises from the assumption that even though volunteer work is unpaid, it is still a productive activity and therefore requires human capital such as skills and knowledge. And because volunteer work involves giving up free time for the benefit of others, it is ethically guided and therefore requires cultural capital such as values and norms. And finally, because volunteer work takes place in groups outside of the home, it is a collective action that requires social capital such as social networks (Wilson & Musick 1997). The argument goes two ways. Firstly, a high resource individual is more likely to feel qualified and therefore consider whether to volunteer. Secondly, voluntary and nonprofit organizations are more likely to seek out high resource individuals that are presumably more productive and less difficult to motivate (Musick & Wilson 2008).

Many specific measures of resources such as occupational status (Smith 1994), extent of social networks (Sokolowski 1996), and generalized trust (Uslaner 2005) have been highlighted as important for volunteer work. Yet education has long been emphasized as the single most important predictor of whether individuals volunteer (Musick & Wilson 2008; Schofer & Longhofer 2011; Smith 1994; Wilson 2000). This is very much true in the case of Denmark, where the most recent population survey shows that 19 % of volunteers have a master's degree compared to 9 % of non-volunteers (Fridberg 2014).

One likely reason why education is so important for the propensity to perform volunteer work is that a high level of education is closely linked to high levels of human, social, and cultural capital (Musick & Wilson 2008).

Firstly, education is argued to significantly increase those capital resources required to volunteer and may therefore have so-called *civic returns* (Dee 2004). Increased education indicates high levels of human capital, since education specifically aims to provide individuals with the skills and knowledge that are essential to perform productive activities such as volunteer work (Schultz 1961). Education ties in with cultural capital because education increases our interest and understanding of political, social, and community issues, thus positively impacting our values towards engaging in such issues through volunteer work (Hillygus 2005). And finally, education increases social capital since educational institutions put individuals in contact with other high resource individuals, who are also more likely to be volunteers, and this may increase the likelihood of being asked to volunteer (Musick & Wilson 2008).

Education may *furthermore* be an important predictor for whether one performs volunteer work not for what it does to an individual but due to the kinds of individuals who select into it (Brand 2010; Dee 2004; Hauser 2000; Smith 1994). Not surprisingly, it is individuals who are already rich in human, social, and cultural capital who attend and complete higher education. After all, the education system disproportionately

rewards and attracts young individuals with intellectual ability, knowledge of society and culture, and who are nested in high resource social networks of individuals who also seek to complete higher education (Jæger & Holm 2007).

The Intergenerational Effect of Education

Parents' level of education may influence their children's propensity to perform volunteer work through two distinct pathways: (1) social status transmission and (2) role modelling. Both of these pathways have found broad empirical support in studies across national contexts (Bekkers 2007; Janoski & Wilson 1995; Mustillo et al. 2004; Perks & Konecny 2015; Quaranta & Sani 2016).

The first effect of parents' level of education on performing volunteer work concerns transmission (*or reproduction*) of social status from one generation to the next (Bekkers 2007; Janoski & Wilson 1995). An integral component of social status transmission is the process in which the resources, guidance and expectations of well-educated parents disproportionally enables their children to reach similar high levels of educational attainment (Brooks 2008). Even in a Danish context, where tertiary education is tuition free and students are provided with government stipends, this process is clearly evident as parent's level of education remains one of the top indicators of the educational attainment of children (Jæger & Holm 2007). The social status transmission argument is therefore simply that as children of well-educated parents are likely to become more educated themselves, they inevitably gain access to similar human, cultural, and social resources and may therefore volunteer at a higher rate (Bekkers 2007).

The second effect of parents' level of education concerns role modelling and has its basis in social learning theory (Bandura 1977; Bekkers 2007). Cultural values, such as those that emphasize volunteer work, are learned informally from family, friends and acquaintances and formally through institutions such as school, workplace, and church (Janoski & Wilson 1995). Of these, the family is found to be the most important institution for transferring values as this is where we spend the majority of our formative years (Quaranta & Sani 2016). Since we know that a highly educated parent is likely to have the right resources that enable volunteer work, in part due to their own level of education, it is more likely that they will set an example as volunteers themselves. In doing so, parents become volunteering role models and this is said to influence the values that children hold towards this activity, which may finally influence their future behavior in this regard (Bekkers 2007; Caputo 2009; Janoski & Wilson 1995; Quaranta & Sani 2016; van Goethem et al. 2014). This effect has been found to be sustained, even as children of parents who volunteer grow old (Perks & Konecny 2015).

Data

The data utilized in this study comes from the 2012 Danish Volunteer Survey (Fridberg & Henriksen 2014). The original survey is a representative sample of (n=2,809) individuals living in Denmark, between the ages of 16 and 85. The data collection was conducted primarily as over the phone interviews with the option to opt in for a face-to-face meeting. The response rate is 67 %. Using the personal identification number of survey participants, the survey data was combined with administrative registers in order to obtain the educational background of survey participants and their parents. The data was made available by Statistics Denmark.

Combining survey data with administrative registers gives this study an unusually exact measure of educational background—but it also comes at a cost. The risk of observing missing data for parents to survey participants older than 55 increases dramatically due to lack of record keeping, and there are no data on respondents older than 66. This missing data reduces the valid sample to (n=1,829). The detailed distribution of the missing data is visible in table 1.

Table 1. Missing parental education distributed according to age of child

Age group	n	% missing	% non-missing
16-55	1807	5.15	94.85
56-66	536	78.54	21.46
67+	466	100	0
n=2,809			

Since age is controlled for in this study, the missing data in the 56-66 age range fulfill the requirements of being missing at random (MAR), and it may therefore confidently be assumed that the missing data for individuals in this age range is ignorable—meaning that effects will be estimated without bias as long as age is held constant (Acocck 2005; Allison 2001; Enders 2010; Little & Rubin 2002).

The oldest respondents in the 67+ age range may only pose a problem for the generalizability of the study if one assumes that there exists confounding factors specific for this particular age group. This may certainly be the case. Therefore, the study does not claim to be generalizable for individuals older than 67 years of age.

Variables of interest

Volunteer work (survey). Respondents have indicated whether they have actively performed volunteer work for a formal organization within the past year. The item was repeated for 14 different volunteer domains, which correspond to the international ICNPO classification (Salamon et al. 2003). Repeating this question in connection with specific volunteer domains—as well as examples of volunteer work within each domain—was intended to reduce recall bias and misunderstanding of what volunteer work entails (Fridberg & Henriksen 2014)

The survey shows a comparatively high rate of volunteering in Denmark at 35 %. Most of this volunteering (88%) takes place within expressive domains such as sports, recreation, politics, and culture, and only comparably little (21%) takes place within social services. This is similar to other countries with universal welfare states (Salamon & Anheier 1998).

Education (register). The key independent variable of interest for this study is education. Self-reported level of education from surveys is often an unreliable measure due to inaccurate recall and the fact that some respondents tend to overestimate their educational background—presumably in an effort to boost their social status (Krumpal 2011). Therefore, this study utilizes data on education obtained from administrative registers that are compiled from data from Danish educational institutions, the Ministry of Education, and other relevant institutions.

In practice, education is measured as the nominal length in full years from the 1st grade to the highest educational degree successfully earned. For instance, a person with a Danish Ph.D. degree has passed school (9 years) + high school (3 years) + undergraduate school (3 years) + graduate school (2 years) + doctoral school (3 years), which is equal to 20 years of schooling.

Access to administrative registers may be even more of an advantage when it comes to the educational level of parents since survey participants may not have a precise recollection of their parents' educational background. Each parent's level of education is measured in the same manner as their adult children then these are combined into a single measure of both parent's level of education in the form of an average of both parents' level of education. Mothers to survey participants have an average length of education at 12.3 years, fathers to survey participants have an average length of education at 12.7 years. The correlation coefficient between parent's level of education is moderately strong at ($r=.52^{***}$).

Tradition of volunteer work (survey). In order to proxy whether an individual has been exposed to volunteering during their childhood, a survey measure is applied in which the respondent indicates on a 4-point ordinal scale to what degree the following statement is true: *"If you think back at your childhood, would you say that there has been a tradition of volunteering in your family?"*, with the possible answers: *not at all*, *to a lesser degree*, *to some degree*, and *to a high degree*. The variable has been coded as a binary variable with "not at all" being zero and all other categories 1. 50 % of respondents have no recollection of volunteering by family members during childhood and 50 % indicate at least some volunteering.

Admittedly, this item does not merely indicate whether parent's volunteer but also indicates volunteer work by family members other than parents during childhood such as siblings or possible extended family members. The variable should therefore be treated more as a general family socialization measure. It does however, function as a mediation variable for parent's volunteering in one regard since respondents answering

“no, none at all” cannot have parents (nor other family members) volunteering during childhood.

Controls

The study utilizes several control items that have been found by other studies to be important for volunteer work. The empirical measures for these controls are taken from the survey study.

Age. Studies consistently find that age is important for volunteer work, since certain time periods such as midlife, is characterized by more plentiful opportunities to volunteer (Rotolo 2010).

Age is calculated in full years from year of birth from the time of the survey.

Gender. In Denmark specifically, men are more likely to volunteer than women, which is likely due to the fact that much of volunteering is sports based (Fridberg 2014).

Gender is indicated by the interviewer.

Health. Researchers argue that health is a resource for volunteer work, since productive activities generally require good physical health (Wilson & Musick 1997).

Health status is a self-reported ordinal scale in which respondents indicate the state of their health.

Children in school age. Parents of children in school age are often requested or even expected to take part on school boards, as coaches, or other volunteer activities in connection with their children’s educational or free time activities (Rotolo 2010; Rotolo & Wilson 2007).

Children in school age is measured by a binary variable which indicates whether the individual has at least one child between the age of 6 and 15 living at home.

Descriptive statistics

A descriptive overview of the variables used in this study are provided in table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics

	Range	valid n	Mean	sd
Volunteer	0-1	1829	0,36	0,48
Volunteer tradition	0-1	1815	0,50	0,50
Education	8-21	1819	14,06	2,51
Parents' average education	7-20	1829	12,45	2,99
Gender	0-1	1829	0,49	0,50
Age	16-66	1829	37,96	12,16
School age children	0-1	1829	0,28	0,45
Health	0-4	1829	3,29	0,91

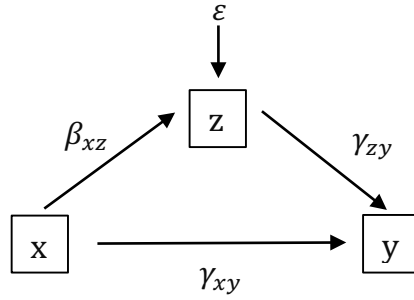
Note: Only individuals successfully linked to parents are included.

Model

This study adopts a generalized structural equation modelling (SEM) approach. SEM combines path and regression analysis in order to estimate proposed relationships between multiple variables, structured within a single path diagram.

SEM is applied since it is a suitable technique for performing mediation analysis: e.g. an analysis where one considers how an independent variable is related to outcome variables by including a third mediator variable (Gunzler et al. 2013). Generically, a mediated relationship between the independent variable (x), a mediation variable (z) and the dichotomous outcome variable (y), can be visualized as in figure 1:

Figure 1.



where γ and β are the regression coefficients, and ε is the error term. The generalized variant of SEM is utilized due to the fact that its basis in generalized least squares estimation makes it possible for the dependent variables to belong to different families, e.g. continuous and binary. When generalized SEM is used to estimate the generic mediated relationship in figure 1, the following simulation equations are being solved:

$$Pr(y = 1|x, z) = \phi(\alpha_1 + x * \gamma_{xy} + z * \gamma_{zy}),$$

$$g\{E(z|x)\} = \alpha_2 + x * \beta_{xz} + \varepsilon$$

where $Pr()$ signifies probability, $g\{\}$ is the link function, and $\phi()$ is the standard normal cumulative distribution function.

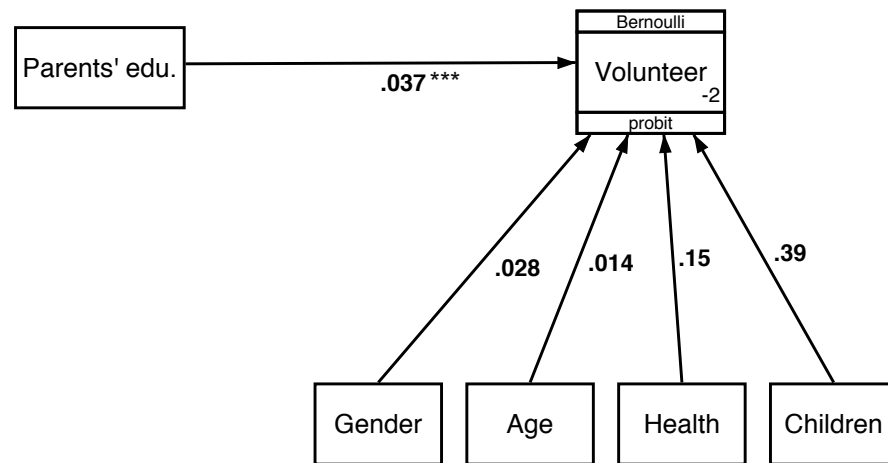
The two equations are interlinked and therefore inferred simultaneously. The direct effect (γ_{xy}) is the pathway from the exogenous independent variable to the dependent outcome variable, controlling for the mediator. The indirect effect is the product of β_{xz} and γ_{zy} .

Naturally, the notation becomes more complicated as the form above is expanded upon in order to add controls and multiple mediators. However, the principle notation for the model remains the same.

Results

In this results section, a stepwise approach is applied in which only the effect of parents' level of education given controls is initially estimated. The empirical model is then expanded with the two mediation mechanisms: first, own education and, second, parents' volunteering. The first model in figure 2 is therefore an estimation of the baseline effect of parent's education.

Figure 2.



Notes: n=1,815. *= $p < 0.1$, **= $p < 0.05$, ***= $p < 0.001$. Only significance levels for key coefficients are shown.

Controlling for age, gender, health and children in school age, it is found that each average additional year of education of parents increases the likelihood of being a volunteer by 1.3 %. This result is obtained by deriving the average marginal effect (AME) of the regression coefficient ($\hat{\beta} = 0.037$, $p < 0.001$) for parents' education in the SEM in figure 2 —which is essentially just a probit regression model.

In table 3, this marginal effect is converted into a set of more meaningful predictions. To do so, a representative individual from the sample must be selected and this is done by determining the sample mean age and then using the most common values of other control variables at that age. Using this approach, table 3 provides the predicted propensity to volunteer for a female with school aged children living at home, who is of excellent health and at the survey sample average age of 38. Parents' level of education equivalent to different possible graduation levels in the Danish school system is provided. Notice that individuals who exited school before 1972, without pursuing further education, could do so after either 7 or 9 years.

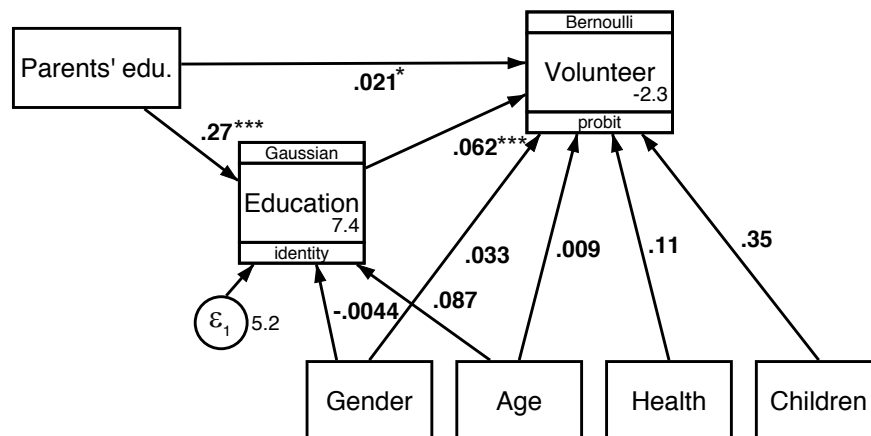
Table 3. Predicted propabilities of performing volunteer work, given parents' average level of education.

Avg. Years of education of parents	Predicted probability of volunteering
7 (School before 1972)	0.419 (0.037)
9 (School)	0.448 (0.032)
12 (High School)	0.492 (0.027)
14 (Bachelor)	0.535 (0.028)
17 (Master)	0.564 (0.032)
20 (Ph.D.)	0.607 (0.040)

In table 3, it is shown that an individual with the characteristics mentioned previously, who is born to parents of the lowest possible educational background (7 years of schooling), has a 41.9 % propensity to volunteer, whereas an individual born to parents who have the average equivalent in years of schooling as a master's degree has a 56.4 % propensity of being a volunteer. This difference constitutes a comparable increase of 35 % in propensity to volunteer.

In figure 3, the mediation of an individuals' own level of education is added to the empirical model in order to explain some of the effect of parents level of education through reproduction of social status:

Figure 3.



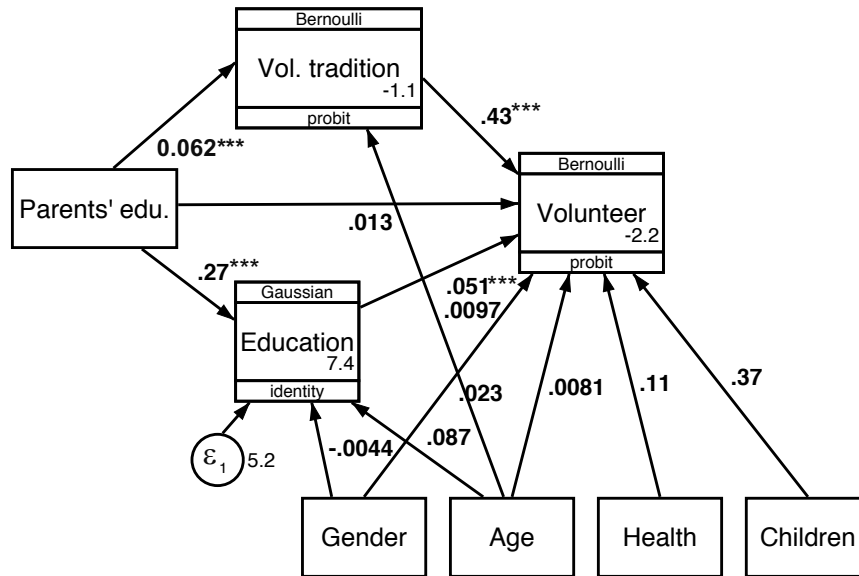
Notes: n=1,815. *= $p < 0.1$, **= $p < 0.05$, ***= $p < 0.001$. Only significance levels for key coefficients are shown.

As expected, parents' average level of education significantly predicts the educational attainment of their children ($\hat{\beta} = 0.27$, $p < 0.001$), which is furthermore a significant predictor of whether one performs volunteer work ($\hat{\beta} = 0.062$, $p < 0.001$).

However, it is interesting to observe that a significant ($\hat{\beta} = 0.021$, $p = 0.072$) direct effect of parents' level of education on propensity to perform volunteer work remains. In other words, a significant part of the effect remains empirically unexplained.

The second mediation pathway, having a tradition of volunteer work in the family during childhood, is then added in figure 4:

Figure 4.



Notes: n=1,815. *= $p < 0.1$, **= $p < 0.05$, ***= $p < 0.001$. Only significance levels for key coefficients are shown.

Figure 4, which contains the final empirical model, shows a highly significant relationship between parents' level of education and the odds of having a tradition of volunteering in the family during one's childhood ($\hat{\beta}=0.062$, $p < 0.001$). Specifically, the AME shows that each year parents' average educational attainment increases the likelihood of having a tradition of volunteering in the family during childhood by 2.4 %. Consequently, having a tradition of volunteering in the family during childhood is a strong and highly significant predictor of volunteering ($\hat{\beta}=0.43$, $p < 0.001$, AME=0.149).

In the final model, one may furthermore observe that the highly significant effect of one's own level of education on the propensity to perform volunteer work remains. By deriving the AME it can be shown that each additional year of education increases the propensity to volunteer with 1.8%.

This is interesting for the civic returns to education discussion since it supports the argument that it is not only that children of highly educated parent select into education that drives the effect of education on volunteer work: Achieving higher levels of education has an effect on volunteer work beyond the effect of parent's education. However, had parents' education not been included in the model, one would have found an average marginal effect of own education at 2.5 %, thus overestimating the effect of one's own education by 39 % (see appendix 1).

In table 4, the marginal effect of the effect of one's own education is converted into a set of more meaningful prediction. As in table 3, the following is the predicted rate of

volunteering for a female with school children living at home, who is of excellent health, who is at the survey sample average age of 38, *however*, she has parents with an average education of 12 years and has not been exposed to volunteer work by parents during childhood:

Table 4. Predicted propabilities of performing volunteer work, given level of education.

Years of education	Predicted probability of volunteering
7 (School before 1972)	0.264 (0.042)
9 (School)	0.298 (0.037)
12 (High School)	0.353 (0.031)
14 (Bachelor)	0.411 (0.030)
17 (Master)	0.451 (0.033)
20 (Ph.D.)	0.512 (0.043)

Finally, one may now observe that the AME for parents' average level of education has dropped to ($\hat{\beta}=0.013$, $p=0.277$, $AME=0.04$) in the full model—down from an AME of 1.3 % in the base model (figure 2). In other words, the two joint mediation mechanisms have substantially mediated the direct effect of parents' level of education on the propensity to perform volunteer work.

We may furthermore be interested in knowing exactly how much of the effect of parents' level of education is explained through each of the two mediation mechanism. This figure is derived by multiplying the AME in the indirect relationship of the final model from figure 4, which is done in table 5.

Table 5. Decomposition of the average marginal effect of each additional average year of parents' education.

	partial AME	partial AME	complete AME	% of total effect
Social status transmission	0.2703	0.0178	0.0048	36.9
Role modelling	0.0244	0.1492	0.0036	28.0
Direct effect			0.0046	35.1
Total effect			0.0130	100.0

It is shown in table 5 that the role modelling mechanism mediates 28% of the effect of parents level of education, whereas social status transmission mediates 37%. This leaves 35% unexplained by the two mediation pathways. It seems that both mediation mechanisms substantially mediate the effect of parents' level of education and to a somewhat similar degree, however, social status transmission is the strongest mediation mechanism: it mediates about 32 % more of the effect total effect compared to social learning.

Conclusion

This study confirms the hypothesis that propensity to perform volunteer work significantly depends on parents' level of education. Specifically, it was found that each year of average education of parents increases the propensity to perform volunteer work by 1.3 %, given demographic controls. The study also confirms the significance of two mediation pathways—social status transmission and role modelling—that combined explain 65 % of the main effect of parent's level of education. More specifically, it was found that social status transmission mediates 37 % of the effect of parents level of educations and role modelling mediates 28 %.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Probit regression of propensity to volunteer without parental education included

	β (se)	ame
Education	0.069*** (0.013)	0.025*** (0.005)
Gender	0.030 (0.062)	0.011 (0.022)
Age	0.006** (0.003)	0.002** (0.001)
School age children	0.357*** (0.069)	0.127*** (0.024)
Health	0.115*** (0.036)	0.041*** (0.013)
Constant	-2.081*** (0.219)	

pseudo R^2 =0.04, n=1,815

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Artikel 2

Volunteer Care Workers: A Case for Challenging Resource Theories on Volunteering

Charlotte Overgaard, Erik Petrovski & Jonathan Hermansen

This paper challenges prevailing theories on volunteering which explain participation in volunteer work by the high capital resources of individuals (resource theories). Using care theory and focusing on volunteers working with the frail elderly, the sick and the dying, we ask whether resource theory is a suitable theoretical framework for this particular kind of unpaid work. With a 2012 Danish population survey, we find that care volunteering attracts lower-resourced individuals who are predominantly female. We use this finding to argue that resource theory is unhelpful in explaining this particular form of volunteering and to call for more theory development.

Keywords: Volunteering, Care, Gender, Resource theory

Introduction

Central to much volunteering literature is the notion that—although many may wish to partake in such unpaid work—predominantly individuals with high levels of capital resources are able to do so. Influential theories that present this argument include dominant status theory by Smith (1994), the hybrid theory of volunteering by Einolf & Chambré (2011), and not least the integrated theory of volunteering by Wilson and Musick (1997). We challenge this notion by focusing on one important body of volunteers, volunteers who engage in volunteer care work such as caring for the frail elderly, the sick and the dying.

We take a starting point in feminist care literature. The study of care rose out of a feminist concern with gender, power, and equity (Daly, 2000; Daly & Lewis, 1998). In much of the literature on care, this kind of work is argued to be a low-status chore designated for women and low-resource individuals. An original feminist focus was on the disadvantage that follows from day-to-day household work (Daly & Lewis, 1998), whereas later research has extended the focus to other types of unpaid work, including the ability of women from various socioeconomic positions to negotiate their own role in informal care (Conlon *et al.*, 2014). In this feminist concern with equity, research has consistently found that disadvantage and care work go hand in hand. A pattern emerges which is much different to the image of the high-resource participants that the volunteer literature predicts. Therefore it appears that what we theoretically expect about the characteristics of a volunteer care worker depends on what we see to be the most important trait—for are volunteer care workers primarily people who volunteer or are they people who care? Our aim is to test whether the explanation of volunteering in social service and health organizations is different from the explanation of volunteering

in other forms of organizations and to shed more light on this specific form of volunteering, a form of volunteering that we call ‘care volunteering’.

For the empirical investigation we use a 2012 Danish Volunteer Survey (n=2,809). We define care volunteering as unpaid formalized work taking place within health and social service organizations, whereas non-care volunteering is defined as unpaid formalized work taking place outside these domains (e.g. sports, culture, and interest organizations). The effects of gender and capital resources on participation in care volunteering and non-care volunteering are tested with a bivariate probit model. By using this model, we treat the two types of volunteering as separate but related dependent variables. This allows us to compare the effects of our independent variables on both care volunteering and non-care volunteering. Key independent variables in our model include informal care, extent of social networks, education, functional health, and employment status.

We find that when looking at human, social, and cultural capital, care volunteers do not have the abundance of capital argued in the volunteer literature while non-care volunteers do. Furthermore, we find that women are disproportionately engaged in care volunteering. Men, on the other hand, choose leisure and sports, interest representation, and other non-care domains.

Based on our findings, we argue that theories that focus on high resources as prerequisites for volunteering are ill equipped to explain why individuals engage in care volunteering. We further argue that no one theory can explain all types of volunteering. We use our findings to call for new theory development; the study of volunteering needs further theory development to explain the many different forms of volunteering.

Two literatures, two distinct sets of assumptions

While much of the volunteering literature would not view ‘volunteering’ and ‘care’ as contradictory because of the underlying assumption that a volunteer is a person who cares (i.e. a kind, altruistic person), we make a clear distinction between the two concepts.

As many theorists of care and work have noted, the concept of *care* is complex and almost impossible to define (Daly & Lewis, 1998; Daly & Lewis, 2000; Fine, 2007; Meagher & Cortis, 2008). One reason is that the word is used in everyday language to signify a number of meanings, including action (such as nurturance), concern (such as worrying about global warming) and feeling (such as loving a spouse). Researchers writing about care usually define care more narrowly. But even within this theoretical domain discussions remain (Meagher & Cortis, 2008). In *our* approach, we conceptualize care work as a specific form of *labor* (distinct from a moral disposition) which entails the provision of psychological, emotional, and physical attention to human beings who are less able to provide for themselves, such as the frail elderly (see Kremer, 2007, p. 28).

Volunteering is somewhat easier to define, although discussions continue to flourish in this literature too (Musick & Wilson, 2008). In our approach, we define ‘volunteering’ in the same way as Wilson (2000, p. 215): ‘Volunteering means any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group, or organizations’. As Musick and Wilson, we exclude informal or casual helping activities in the definition (2008, p. 26). Thus, in our approach not all volunteering is caring, just as not all care work is volunteering. By making this clear distinction, we are able to approach the question ‘who is a volunteer care worker?’ via two very distinct literatures: The care literature and the volunteering literature.

The following two sections give a selective review of the assumptions and findings that are attached to these two literatures. The literature review reveals that volunteer care work as a topic is placed at the intersection of two literatures that do not speak easily to each other and that have grown out of such different traditions that it is hard, even impossible, to reconcile their assumptions.

Resource and Dominant Status theory

According to the volunteering literature, volunteering is a positive activity—good for volunteers, organizations, those who need help, and society (Taylor, 2005), and it is—by definition—undertaken in accordance with the free will of individuals (ABS, 2010; Boje *et al.*, 2006; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Much volunteering literature thus favors an individualistic approach, individualistic because it is concerned with the individual’s motives, morality and resources that may ease the decision to volunteer. However, it pays less attention to the structures and circumstances of which volunteering is a product (Baldock, 1998; Taylor, 2005).

The assumption in this literature is that voluntary work is an enabler for those of lesser occupational status to ‘climb the ladder’ due to the opportunities of self-development¹. Not only is volunteering beneficial to others, it is also beneficial to the volunteers themselves in multiple ways. Volunteering may provide a sense of self-satisfaction in exchange for one’s good deeds and can be a way to gain social approval from others. Volunteers may also wield sizable political influence on the board of directors at nonprofit organizations and volunteering may boost one’s résumé and professional network (Spera *et al.*, 2013; Spera *et al.*, 2015). When people do not have the sufficient resources to participate and therefore robbed of an opportunity for participation, they are subjects to ‘participatory inequality’ and ‘therefore a concern for the egalitarian, democratic ideal of voluntary associations’ (van Ingen & van der Meer, 2011, pp. 302-303). In other words, inequality pertains to people *not* participating.

¹ This certainly implies that capital resources may not just be a prerequisite for volunteering but a product of volunteering. However, the vast majority of the literature uses capital resources as predictors of volunteering and whether volunteering boosts capital resources for most individuals is still somewhat speculative (Spera *et al.* 2015, Petrovski *et al.* forthcoming)

It is an established tradition in volunteering research to explain participation by means of differences in the background characteristics of individuals (Handy & Hustinx, 2009, p. 553) with one literature review by Smith (1994) citing research dating back to 1941. The reason why researchers have been so interested in the characteristics of volunteers is that these researchers posit that volunteering as a productive activity needs input—and that certain people have those skills and competences that are needed in volunteer work, while others do not. Wilson and Musick are especially clear on this point when they stress that because volunteering is a productive activity it requires human capital, such as education and work skills; because it is undertaken in groups it requires social capital, such as social networks; and because it is ethically guided it requires cultural capital, such as civic norms and traditions (Wilson & Musick, 1997). The volunteering literature is thus built upon the notion that it is predominantly individuals with high levels of individual resources who are able to participate – and the higher their capital resources the more likely are individuals to volunteer (Einolf & Chambré, 2011; Smith, 1994; Wilson & Musick, 1997).

The characteristics of people—according to this theoretical starting point—become predictors of who is most likely to become a volunteer. The most relevant findings to this study are summarized below. Level of *education* has consistently been shown to be the best predictor of volunteering (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 119; Putnam, 2000, p. 118; Wilson, 2000, pp. 219-220). In a recent review article, Wilson highlights education as ‘perhaps the most important ‘asset’ as far as volunteering is concerned’ (Wilson, 2012). *Having a job* has become another commonly cited predictor of volunteering—especially if the job has high status – since this provides individuals with up-to date productive skills (Wilson, 2000, p. 218). A number of studies have found that people *with jobs* are more likely to volunteer (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 150; Putnam, 2000, p. 119).

Religiosity has been shown to impact the levels of formal volunteering (Lewis *et al.*, 2013; Paxton *et al.*, 2014). The relationship between volunteering and religiousness is partly attributed to pro-social values of people engaged in religious communities and specifically in relations to religiously based volunteer work there may also be a network effect (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). The inclination to volunteer could be mediated by expectations of others within religious groups. It is not only the religious beliefs that impact the decisions to volunteer, but they can be interpreted as expressions of values that drive people to engage in volunteering.

A further predictor of volunteering is *age*. Studies generally show that the relationship is concave: The young and the old volunteer less than those in their thirties and early forties do. The reason why the middle age groups have high participation rates is probably that they have children living at home, giving them a reason to participate through schools and sports organizations (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 245).

Another persistent finding within volunteering research is that volunteers are closely tied in with their surrounding communities (social contact). Volunteers are the

ones in close contact with neighbors, friends and co-workers. This contact provides people with opportunities to take up volunteer positions and venues to do so (Einolf, 2011; Sokolowski, 1996; Wilson & Musick, 1997). It is furthermore argued that individuals with large social networks feel more easily at home in public social settings and are therefore more like to become part of volunteer organizations (Wilson & Musick, 1997a).

Initial thinking assumed that being a volunteer was synonymous with being a woman, reflecting that much early research came from Anglo-Saxon countries (Scott, 1991, p. chapter 1; Taylor, 2005, p. 119). However, such findings are highly country dependent, see for example van Ingen and van der Meer (2011), claiming the opposite about the Netherlands. In Denmark, men volunteer at higher rates than women (Fridberg *et al.*, 2013).

In summary, the general agreement in the literature appears to emphasize the importance of personal resources for volunteering. In other words, the willingness to volunteer depends on the level of capital that individuals possess, which makes it much more likely that individuals of higher socio-economic status, who almost by definition have more capital, will volunteer at higher rates. These theoretical assumptions have not been questioned to our knowledge and studies of volunteering, such as the survey we analyze in this article, are thus often designed around measuring individuals' level of capital resources.

Care Theory

Everybody will be in need of care at some point during his or her life. No matter how much a person earns or how independently they live, every person was once a child and most people will at some point need care either because they have grown old or because of sickness (Kremer, 2007). While much public discourse suggest a positive, altruistic, even romantic, interpretation of the word, there is another—much less positive—meaning of the word that cannot be ignored (Fine, 2007). Indeed, the origins of the concept of 'care' lie in an attempt to define the work involved in caring for others and to make visible the hidden, often difficult, 'dirty', undervalued and unrecognized work it entails to care for others. Indeed, many researchers describe care work as a *burden*, focusing on the foregone careers, social isolation and the psychological distress of caregiving (Brody, 2003; Fine, 2007; Ungerson, 2005). Kremer has aptly used the image of the hard-working, but unloved and unrewarded, Cinderella character to describe care-givers (2007, p. 28). In stark contrast to the volunteering literature, participatory inequality negatively affects those *participating*, rather than those not participating.

Also in stark contrast to the notion of free will in the volunteering literature, a central argument in feminist writing is the existence of an ideology of altruism that compels women to provide their services without getting anything in return (Land & Rose, 1985). This is often referred to as 'compulsory altruism'. Where resource theory

argues that those *with* resources will get involved, some feminists—with Tronto being a main protagonist—take almost the complete opposite stand. She argues that the less powerful in society take on the job of caring—which means predominantly women. Accordingly, socio-economic status is an organizing factor to consider in studies of care (Tronto, 1993, pp. 112-116). In terms of comparison, the assumption in the care theory is thus that those *with* resources will opt out of participating, while resource theory assumes that those *without* resources will opt out of participating. Indeed, socio-economic factors have been proven to have a bearing on ‘who cares’. For example, a recent study in Ireland showed that those of lower socio-economic status were ‘enmeshed’ in caring and felt that it was their duty. People of higher socio-economic status had ‘freer’ lives and had more room for negotiating their own roles in caring (Conlon *et al.*, 2014).

Where care work used to be strictly a family matter, care has ‘gone public’ (Hernes, 1987). Now, care may be delivered in a hospice, in a hospital, in a nursing home, in a respite facility, in a mobile health clinic, as well as at home. As care-giving has ‘gone public’, the care literature has adapted and shifted its focus to also include aged care, nursing and other care professions. With this shift, the literature has continued to show how disadvantage and care intermesh. For example, Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002), Bettio *et al.* (2006) and others have documented how less-fortunate women from poor and underdeveloped countries leave their own families to care for children of the more fortunate. Furthermore, immigrants from poorer countries, such as India and the Philippines, are over-represented in nursing and aged care jobs in many countries, again supporting the notion that those less fortunate undertake the bulk of care work (Huang *et al.*, 2012; Shutes & Walsh, 2012; Triandafyllidou, 2013; Walsh & O’shea, 2010).

It is almost clichéd to say that women care more than men do. Providing care is often considered to be an activity that require feminine qualities and women are often seen to have a caring nature (Kremer, 2007). Despite Denmark’s reputation for coming far in terms of gender equality (Kan *et al.*, 2011; Nordenmark, 2008), women continue to deliver more care than men. Women continue to deliver the bulk of family care, as women do in other countries (Garcia *et al.*, 2009; OECD, 2011, p. 89). Additionally, there is strong occupational gender segregation. That is, there is ‘work for men’ and ‘work for women’ in the Danish labor market, of which nursing, child care and other comparatively lower status care jobs are ‘work for women’ (Bloksgaard, 2011). This invites the question: If women care in all other contexts, why should it be any different for volunteering?

Research Questions

As the selective review has shown, it is not easy to reconcile the assumptions that underpin the two strands of literature. For example, the volunteering literature perceives inequality as linked to *non-participation*, while the care literature links

inequality to *participation*. Similarly, the volunteering literature perceives participation as a good thing for those participating, while the care literature argues the opposite. The volunteering literature takes an individualistic perspective while the care literature is concerned with the structures and circumstances that compel some to take on the caring tasks, while others can avoid this kind of paid and unpaid work. Also, 'choice' and 'free will' are fundamental elements of how to define volunteering, while feminists argue for 'compulsory altruism'. Further, the care literature argues that those without significant resources to make better choices take on caring tasks, while the volunteering literature argues that volunteering is an activity made possible by having resources.

The conflicting implications of the care literature and the resource-focused volunteering literature leave us with the following question regarding the validity of the theoretical assumptions underpinning volunteering research and the usefulness of resource theory in particular.

Q1: Does human, social, and cultural capital significantly increase the probability of performing volunteer care work?

Q2: Do women gravitate towards care volunteering and men towards non-care volunteering.

The rest of this article aims to test whether the explanation of volunteering in social service and health organizations, where most care volunteering takes place, is different from the explanation of volunteering in other forms of organizations. It also aims to shed more light on this specific form of volunteering that we call 'care volunteering' with the aim of making a contribution to volunteer theory. Following from a starting point in the feminist care literature, our aim is also to explore the gendered patterns of volunteer care work.

Volunteering in Denmark

Denmark is a case example of a country where gender differences in care volunteering should be diminutive if resource theory has explanatory power, given the existence of a Nordic public welfare model. Commentators agree that the Scandinavian welfare states have advanced provision of public services and that the extent and quality of public provision is superior to that of countries outside Scandinavia (Borchhorst & Siim, 2008). Many feminist scholars hold up the Nordic countries as a role model for gender equality policies (see Lister, 2009, p. 243), where at least one aspect furthering gender equality—the institutionalization of care—has been achieved, thereby largely removing care from the private sphere and placing it in the public sphere (Dahl, 2010). Furthermore, Denmark is characterized by an exceptionally high degree of equality between men and women in terms of education, labor force participation and time spend doing housework compared to the majority of other countries (Boje & Ejrnæs, 2013; Kan *et al.*, 2011; Nordenmark, 2008).

A landmark in the social-democratic mission of building an all-encompassing welfare state, which was to take care of its citizens' health and social needs, was the

passing of the Danish Social Assistance Act of 1976. The Act made local and regional municipalities responsible for both provision and administration of almost all social services (Henriksen *et al.*, 2009). The Act thereby made non-profit organizations practically invisible and disregarded them as a means of solving problems (Ibsen & Habermann, 2005). However, after being side-lined during the construction of the Danish welfare state, non-profit organizations have re-assumed their role as important players in the Danish welfare society. In the current political climate, after being forgotten for a couple of decades, the non-profit sector has become an important partner of the state in delivering services (Henriksen, 2011a; Ibsen & Habermann, 2005).

One recent study found that only the Netherlands (out of the European countries) boasts a higher participation rate than Denmark (Eurobarometer, 2011). About 35% of Danes were engaged in voluntary work in the 12 months before data collection in 2012, respectively (Fridberg & Henriksen, 2014; Fridberg *et al.*, 2013), consistent with participation rates 8 years earlier (Koch-Nielsen *et al.*, 2005). However, not all volunteers participate in service delivery to the frail old, the very sick and the terminally ill. In fact, only a small proportion of volunteers participate in this form of volunteering. We estimate that 7% of the Danish population volunteer in welfare or health organizations, while recreational and sports volunteering remain the most predominant forms of volunteering in Denmark.

Methods

The data employed in this study come from the high-quality 2012 Danish Volunteer Survey (Fridberg & Henriksen, 2014). The survey is a representative sample of (n=2,809) individuals living in Denmark, who are between the ages of 16 and 85. Data collection was conducted primarily as phone interviews with the option of face-to-face interviews. The response rate was 67%.

Survey participants were chosen at random from the Danish Civil Registration System (CRS), which contains information on all individuals permanently residing in Denmark. Using the personal identification number of survey participants from the CRS, survey data were combined with government registers on education. Statistics Denmark made the register data available.

Dependent variables

Respondents were asked if they had performed active volunteer work for a formal organization within 14 different volunteer domains during the last year. These domains correspond to the widely used International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (ICNPO) developed by Salamon *et al.* (2003). The questions were repeated for each volunteer domain and examples of volunteer work within each domain were supplied in order to reduce possible misunderstandings of what type of volunteer work the specific domain contain (Fridberg & Henriksen, 2014).

We created two dummy variables from these questions: (1) 'non-care volunteers', which are respondents who have performed volunteer work within at least one non-care

domain² (30%); and (2) ‘care volunteers’ which are respondents who have performed volunteer work within at least one of the domains where the majority of care work can be assumed to take place, i.e. ‘Health’ or ‘Social Service’ organizations’ (7%)³. Volunteer work that is included within health and social service organizations include crisis counseling, refugee helper, elder care, visiting lonely citizens, mentoring, and facilitating support groups.

Individuals who have not performed volunteer work within any domain make up 65% of the sample. The sum is in excess of 100% because 3% of respondents performed both care and non-care volunteering.

Independent variables

Since the purpose of this study is to re-evaluate whether established resource theory—which has its origin in the 1997 study by Wilson and Musick—fits care and non-care volunteering alike, the independent variables were chosen in order to reflect the original study by Wilson and Musick (1997) as closely as possible.

Capital resources. Two central measures of *human capital* are education and occupational status. We measure education as the nominal length in full years from the 1st grade to the highest educational degree successfully earned. For instance, a person with a Danish Ph.D. degree has passed school (9 years) + high school (3 years) + undergraduate school (3 years) + graduate school (2 years) + doctoral school (3 years), which is equal to 20 years of schooling. This variable was obtained from Danish registers on education, which is a highly accurate data source compiled from data from Danish educational institutions, the Ministry of Education, and other relevant institutions.

Occupational status is measured by a series of dummy variables for (1) white collar, (2) self-employed, (3) student, (4) unemployed, (5) retired. These categories reflect the respondents self-reported primary occupation. The reference category is individuals who are employed in a blue collar⁴ occupation.

Furthermore, we added a measure of health to human capital. Health is measured with the question: ‘*How is your health in general?*’ Response falls on a five-point scale ranging from very good to very bad.

Social capital is measured as social contacts and having school age children. To measure social networks, we constructed an index of six items measuring contact with (1) family, (2) neighbors, (3) friends, (4) current colleagues, (5) former colleagues, (6) others. Each item measures how often individuals indicate that they are in contact with one of the above groups on a five-point ordinal scale ranging from ‘every day’ to ‘no contact’. The index is an average of the six items.

² Culture and recreation, Education and Research, Environment, Development and housing, Civic and advocacy, International Aid, Religious congregations, Business and professional unions, Others.

³ 3.5 % volunteer within social services and 3.9 % volunteer within health.

⁴ The terms ‘white collar’ and ‘blue collar’ refer to whether respondents report that they perform high-skilled office work or low-skilled and manual labor.

School age children is a dummy variable that measures whether individuals have children aged six to 15 years. The reference category is therefore individuals who do not have children in that age group living at home or have no children at all.

Cultural capital is measured by tradition of volunteering, religiosity, and moral perception of volunteering. Tradition of volunteering is measured by asking individuals: ‘*If you think back at your childhood, would you say that there has been a tradition of volunteering in your family?*’, with the four possible answers: (1) not at all, (2) to a lesser degree, (3) to some degree, and (4) to a high degree.

Religiosity is measured by the question ‘*How important is religion in your life?*’, which is answered on a four-point ordinal scale: (1) very important, (2) important, (3) somewhat important, and (4) not important at all.

Moral perception of volunteering is measured on an ordinal scale on which respondents were asked to what degree they agree with the following statement: ‘*Everyone has a moral duty to volunteer at one point during their lifetime*’, which is answered on a standard five-point Likert scale.

Informal care. Respondents were asked if they regularly provide informal care—such as grocery shopping, childcare, housecleaning, gardening, and contact with social services—to someone outside of their household. Like other studies, we include informal care as a control variable since there may be a sizeable overlap between informal care and formal volunteering (Wilson and Musick (1997). However, it should not be regarded as a truly exogenous predictor since individuals may decide to volunteer formally before they decide to perform informal care. A dummy variable was created to measure whether respondents provide such informal care. The reference category is individuals who do not provide informal care.

Demographics. Three variables describe the demographic characteristics of respondents: Gender, age, and whether respondents live in a rural area.

Descriptive statistics

The mean for the dependent variables for the full sample, non-volunteers, non-care volunteers, and care volunteers is provided in the descriptive statistics table below. The minimum and maximum value for all independent variables are furthermore provided.

Table I. Descriptive statistics showing the mean of independent variables as well as minimum and maximum values

	min.	max.	full sample	non-volunteers	non-care vol.	care vol.
Human capital						
Education	7	21	13,67	13,38	14,33	13,73
White collar	0	1	0,34	0,31	0,41	0,32
Self employed	0	1	0,07	0,05	0,10	0,07
Student	0	1	0,12	0,13	0,10	0,09
Retired	0	1	0,25	0,27	0,20	0,32
Unemployed	0	1	0,07	0,07	0,06	0,07
Blue collar	0	1	0,15	0,17	0,13	0,13
Health	0	4	3,14	3,08	3,26	3,18
Social capital						
Social contacts	0	4	2,43	2,36	2,57	2,49
Children in school age	0	1	0,20	0,16	0,29	0,20
Cultural capital						
Voluntary tradition	0	3	0,89	0,73	1,23	1,02
Religiosity	0	3	0,80	0,75	0,91	1,01
Moral duty	0	4	1,73	1,66	1,85	2,09
Demographics						
Age	16	86	47,58	47,27	47,70	50,47
Woman	0	1	0,53	0,55	0,49	0,61
Rural	0	1	0,49	0,50	0,48	0,42
Care						
Informal care	0	1	0,53	0,52	0,54	0,59
n			2807	1837	855	197

Analysis

Since the dependent variables for this study are two binary variables (y_1) non-care volunteering and (y_2) care volunteering, we have chosen to utilize a bivariate probit model.

Contrary to an ordinary probit model, which accommodates just one binary dependent variable (y), the bivariate probit model accommodates two binary dependent variables y_1 and y_2 , which may be said to express the two underlying latent variables y_1^* and y_2^* . Each dependent variable takes on the value 1 if the underlying latent variable has a positive value:

$$y_1 = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y_1^* > 0, \\ 0 & \text{if } else, \end{cases}$$

$$y_2 = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y_2^* > 0, \\ 0 & \text{if } else, \end{cases}$$

with the values of y_1^* and y_2^* given by the regression functions:

$$\begin{cases} y_1^* = X_1\beta_1 + \varepsilon_1 \\ y_2^* = X_2\beta_2 + \varepsilon_2 \end{cases}$$

where X_1 and X_2 are vectors of independent variables, β_1 and β_2 are their corresponding regression coefficients, and ε_1 and ε_2 are the error terms of the regression functions. The distribution of error terms is then given by:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon_1 \\ \varepsilon_2 \end{bmatrix} | X \sim N \left(\begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} 1 & \rho \\ \rho & 1 \end{bmatrix} \right)$$

where N signifies that the error terms are assumed to be jointly normally distributed and ρ is the correlation coefficient. Fitting the model above requires us to estimate three entities: β_1, β_2 and ρ . In order to do so the likelihood of the model must be maximized (see more in Wooldridge, 2010).

If $\rho \neq 0$ it signifies that error term correlation remains after controlling for the independent variables. In other words, individuals systematically chose to volunteer for care and non-care volunteering on the basis of factors that have not been accounted for in the model and estimating separate regressions is therefore not appropriate (Wooldridge, 2010).

The following table shows the unstandardized estimated β -coefficient and heteroscedasticity robust standard errors in parentheses for two separate bivariate probit models. The difference between the two models is that model 1 does not contain any interaction term, whereas model 2 contains a significant interaction term between gender and informal care. The interaction term was introduced to test a hypothesis that women engage more in informal care than men do, and this engagement could alter the relationship between informal care and formal care volunteering. However, we devote the majority of our attention to the results from model 1, where direct effects may be observed.

Table IIBivariate probit model predicting non-care and care volunteering

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Non-care vol.	Care vol.	Non-care vol.	Care vol.
	β_1 (se)	β_2 (se)	β_1 (se)	β_2 (se)
Human capital				
Education	0.045*** (0.011)	0.005 (0.015)	0.045*** (0.011)	0.005 (0.015)
White collar	0.202** (0.083)	-0.035 (0.120)	0.203** (0.083)	-0.038 (0.120)
Self employed	0.418*** (0.118)	0.073 (0.173)	0.418*** (0.118)	0.075 (0.175)
Student	0.332*** (0.117)	-0.106 (0.171)	0.331*** (0.117)	-0.102 (0.173)
Retired	0.158 (0.108)	0.194 (0.143)	0.158 (0.108)	0.196 (0.145)
Unemployed	0.202* (0.121)	0.076 (0.175)	0.200* (0.121)	0.072 (0.176)
<i>Blue collar (ref.)</i>				
Health	0.061** (0.029)	0.045 (0.041)	0.060** (0.029)	0.046 (0.041)
Social capital				
Social contacts	0.271*** (0.047)	0.098 (0.067)	0.270*** (0.047)	0.093 (0.068)
Children in school age	0.436*** (0.067)	0.026 (0.098)	0.436*** (0.067)	0.028 (0.098)
Cultural capital				
Voluntary tradition	0.186*** (0.023)	0.036 (0.034)	0.186*** (0.023)	0.035 (0.034)
Religiosity	0.114*** (0.031)	0.089** (0.043)	0.114*** (0.031)	0.087** (0.043)
Moral duty	0.011 (0.017)	0.066*** (0.024)	0.011 (0.017)	0.067*** (0.024)
Demographics				
Age	0.007*** (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)
Woman	-0.172*** (0.053)	0.155** (0.076)	-0.135* (0.076)	0.390*** (0.118)
Rural	0.021 (0.053)	-0.187** (0.074)	0.020 (0.053)	-0.199** (0.074)
Care				
Informal care	0.008 (0.052)	0.093 (0.073)	0.044 (0.075)	0.335*** (0.117)
Interaction				
Woman \times Informal care			-0.069 (0.104)	-0.402*** (0.151)
<i>Constant</i>	-2.851*** (0.252)	-2.384*** (0.332)	-2.868*** (0.253)	-2.513*** (0.342)
ρ	0.133*** (0.048)		0.131*** (0.048)	

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01), (n=2,807)

The correlation coefficient from model 1 turns out to be significant ($\rho=0.132^*$). Methodologically, we must conclude that estimating a joint model was the correct choice. The interpretation of the relationship between the two dependent variables (y_1 & y_2) should therefore be that engagement in care and non-care volunteering are weakly but positively correlated, given the chosen controls.

The coefficients and corresponding significance level in the bivariate probit model expresses whether and to what extent specific factors predict non-care volunteering and care volunteering. In order to show that each factor predicts non-care and care volunteering at a significantly different rate, we conduct Wald tests of non-zero difference in coefficients. Formally, we test whether $\beta_1 - \beta_2 = 0$ (See Wooldridge, 2010). The resulting test statistic from the Wald test is assumed to be χ^2 distributed at

one degree of freedom so that we may derive a p-value. The results of the Wald tests are shown in table III.

Table III.Wald test of non-zero difference between coefficients in model 1

	$\beta_1 - \beta_2 = 0$
	χ^2
Human capital	
Education	5.04**
White collar	2.91*
Self employed	2.78*
Student	4.81**
Retired	0.04
Unemployed	0.33
<i>Blue collar (ref.)</i>	
Health	0.1
Social capital	
Social contacts	4.78**
Children in school age	12.84***
Cultural capital	
Voluntary tradition	14.37***
Religiosity	0.23
Moral duty	3.83*
Demographics	
Age	1.5
Woman	13.12***
Rural	5.56**
Care	
Informal care	0.94

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

Findings

Human capital. We find a highly significant effect of education on engaging in *non-care* volunteering in table II. This result indicates a high demand for educational skills for entering non-care volunteering, which is in accordance with resource theory (Wilson, 2012; Wilson & Musick, 1997). However, we find that education has no significant effect on engaging in care volunteering. The difference between the effect of education on engaging in non-care and care volunteering is furthermore found to be significant (see table III).

We find a significant and positive effect of white-collar employment status on non-care volunteering and a slightly negative, albeit insignificant, effect of white-collar employment status on care volunteering. The difference between the two coefficients is found to be significant. In accordance with our theoretical expectations from the care literature, this result indicates that high-status employed individuals tend to prefer non-care volunteering over care volunteering. We furthermore note that students and self-employed individuals also significantly prefer non-care volunteering over care

volunteering. Self-employed individuals are a diverse group, however in our data they closely resemble white-collar workers in term of education and income and it is therefore not surprising that these individuals show the same preferences in terms of volunteer work as white-collar workers.

The final measure of human capital, health, indicates that health is significantly correlated with *non-care* volunteering but not with care volunteering—the two coefficients, however, are not significantly different from each other. This result is not too surprising, since sports are included in non-care volunteering and often requires a high level of physical ability.

Social capital. For non-care volunteering, we find that social contacts and having school age children both prove to have a highly significant influence. These findings thereby confirm earlier studies and resource theory, as outlined earlier (Wilson & Musick, 1997). However, these measures completely fail to predict care volunteering—and we find a medium to highly significant difference in coefficients between non-care and care volunteering.

Cultural capital. There is a highly significant effect of growing up with a tradition for volunteering on non-care volunteering. This suggests that many non-care volunteers take up volunteering because they have been raised to do so (Bekkers, 2007). However, this is not the case for care volunteering. Instead, care volunteers report that they believe it to be a moral duty to volunteer to a significantly large degree, indicating the existence of ‘compulsory altruism’.

Religiosity is a highly significant predictor of non-care volunteering and this should perhaps not be surprising since the religious domain is contained herein. Interestingly enough, religiosity also has a significant influence on care volunteering, albeit less prominent, thus lending some support to the notion that religion instills a ‘culture of benevolence’ (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wuthnow, 1995).

Gender. We confirm that women are less likely to engage in non-care volunteering than men and more likely to engage in care volunteering. Not surprisingly, the difference between the two coefficients is found to be highly significant.

Informal care. Wilson & Musick find that informal care (or help) is closely tied to formal volunteering (1997). Our results nuance this: We find that only care volunteering is tied to informal care, where we discover a significant correlation (model 2). We find no correlation between informal care and non-care volunteering. However, the interaction term in model 2 also shows that correlation between informal care and formal care volunteering is negated by gender. In an effort to understand this surprising finding, we look closer into the work intensity of informal helping for men and women. By comparing the time men and women spend on informal helping, we find that women spend 15 hours per month while men spend 10 hours per month on informal helping, which is a highly significant difference ($t=3.994$, $p<0.001$). This analysis may therefore point towards role overload for women, who will find it difficult to make time and

preserve energy for taking up extensive caring duties both formally through volunteer work and informally through providing aid for family, friends, and neighbors.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The results of our analysis show that unpaid volunteer work —like paid work—is stratified along ‘class’ as well as gender divides. Care volunteers are a different group of people than non-care volunteers. Our findings confirm other studies which have similarly found that well-educated, high earning individuals opt for certain kinds of volunteering. For example, we know that a college education doubles the chances of joining an environmental organization and we know about the over-representation of affluent and well-educated males in politics and political organizations (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 123; van Ingen & van der Meer, 2011, p. 306). Similarly, our study also confirms findings by Musick and Wilson about avoidance of undesirable tasks:

Where volunteer work consists mainly of accompanying patients on outings, offering companionship, providing support to patients and families in waiting rooms, shopping and doing errands, and taking patients from one facility to another, as it does in the case of hospital volunteers, more highly educated people might avoid this kind of menial, person-to-person work and people with limited education might feel more comfortable doing it because it relies on ‘people skills’ (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 123).

But this study has wider implications. Our findings show that levels of human, social and cultural capital do not have explanatory value for individual involvement in care volunteering. Even education—the most commonly claimed predictor of volunteering—does not predict engagement in care volunteering. This result suggests that care volunteering fits in quite poorly within the predictions of the resource theory framework. On the measures of capital resources, *care volunteers do not resemble* the high-status non-care volunteers that resource theory posits ‘. This finding supports the notion that socio-economic status is as important in voluntary work as it is in the informal sphere and in formalized, paid work (Conlon *et al.*, 2014; Huang *et al.*, 2012; Shutes & Walsh, 2012; Triandafyllidou, 2013; Walsh & O’shea, 2010). In other words, our results suggest the volunteer care workers have more in common with other care workers than they do with other volunteers.

We further find evidence that care volunteering is gendered. Women are—as we suspected—more likely to be care volunteers than men are, a finding that supports research by Rotolo and Wilson (2007). It thus appears that Bloksgaard’s (2011) argument, about paid care work being gendered, can be extended to unpaid, formalized care work. The two kinds of work—waged and unwaged—are similar in this respect.

It is widely assumed that volunteering is a spill-over from our informal lives (Pichler & Wallace, 2007; Schervish & Havens, 2002, p. 69). For example, Musick and Wilson argue that ‘in so many ways, volunteer work is an extension of the care family members provide each other into the public sphere’ (2008, p. 250). However, our findings do not support such a *general* notion. We find *no* correlation between informal

care and non-care volunteering in our analysis. By separating out care volunteering, we can thus identify that the strong ties that are postulated in other studies between formal and informal helping (Wilson & Musick, 1997) *only* apply to the group of care volunteers in our sample—and only for men.

Furthermore, the results of the full model, which contains a significant and negative interaction between the female gender and informal care, suggest that women in particular face a ‘double burden’. Women are more likely to be care volunteers just as they are more likely to be paid care workers or informal helpers for neighbors or friends. However, when women are participating in informal helping activities their engagement in care volunteering decreases.

Our findings suggest that care volunteers see their activities as a moral duty. This duty is similar to the ‘compulsory altruism’ that the care literature attributes to individuals who take on unpaid, informal care. Our findings further confirm that it is predominantly women, and not so often men, who take on work in accordance with this moral duty, in the same way as is the case with compulsory altruism (Land & Rose, 1985).

Taken together, our findings point to large differences in ‘who’ carries out non-care and care volunteering. The results of this study highlight the differences between two domains of volunteering. Whereas the dominant status theory has proven successful in explaining ‘volunteering’ overall, it does not appear to be the appropriate approach to understanding care volunteering in isolation. The findings emphasize the need to distinguish care volunteering as a unique volunteering domain. A failure to separate between substantially diverse types of volunteering ignores that large differences exist in ‘who volunteers’. It also ignores, that volunteer care work is a form of *care* and as such shares many characteristics of other forms of care work, paid and unpaid.

Implications

The ageing of populations inevitably leads to increasing demand for care and support for the frail old, the very sick and the terminally ill, putting substantial pressure on welfare states to meet the needs of their citizens. As in other countries, successive Danish governments have consequently put significant hope in mobilizing volunteers (Henriksen, 2011a, 2011b; Oppenheimer & Warburton, 2014; Regeringen, 2012, p. 79). The main quest on all fronts is to figure out how to get more of it. This stance on volunteering is defensible as long as we imagine volunteers as high-resource individuals. High-resource individuals can look after themselves, they have much to offer, and we have no qualms about asking them to participate and take on some responsibility for the welfare of our societies. However, the moment we come to accept that volunteer care workers are *actually* lower-resourced individuals, it might not be so uncomplicated to uphold a predominantly optimistic views about the capabilities of volunteers to relieve the pressures on the welfare state.

However, our main point of interest in this article is to connect volunteer *theory* to empirical data. Indeed, the findings here have important consequences for our theoretical understandings, which again underpin much contemporary volunteer research. The overall results of our analysis suggest that the literature on volunteer work that focus on resources as prerequisites for volunteering is mostly ill equipped to explain the characteristics of individuals who engage in care volunteering. We also find that care theory has much to offer when explaining engagement in care volunteering as a gendered and low resource practice.

It may seem like this article is primarily concerned with challenging resource and dominant status theory—and maybe Wilson’s work in particular. However, Wilson has similarly warned against trying to explain all activities within the same theory (2000, p. 233). Yet, it appears that there is a persistent tendency to treat all volunteers as an entity, where ‘volunteering’ is thought of as a specific activity where the most prominent feature is the absence of pay. This focus, however, ignores *what* people do or *where* they volunteer. This is in stark contrast to the paid workforce, which is routinely studied within its own boundaries. For example, we distinguish between those who work in the health sector and those who work in manufacturing. Furthermore, we distinguish different occupations and professions within a sector from each other (e.g. nurses from social workers).

We would therefore like to close this article by posing a warning against conceptualizing ‘volunteering’ as a single entity because it appears that this concept falsely claims that many *very different* activities can be explained by the *same* theory. We want to suggest that future research on volunteering will benefit from distinguishing between care and non-care volunteering—and other forms of volunteering too. We want to call for the development of more helpful *theories* (in plural) that take into account the many varied activities that the word ‘volunteering’ covers, rather than the one ‘catch-all’ theory, resource theory.

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Artikel 3

Erik Petrovski

De stabile frivillige

Betydningen af kapitalressourcer, livsfaser og organisatorisk kontekst for vedvarende frivilligt arbejde

Jeg fremsætter hypotesen, at stabilt frivilligt arbejde over længere tidsperioder afhænger af de kapitalressourcer der medbringes til arbejdet, den livsfase arbejdet foregår i, samt den organisatoriske kontekst arbejdet udføres inden for. Hypotesen testes ved hjælp af paneldata fra befolkningsundersøgelsen af frivilligt arbejde '04 og '12. Jeg konkluderer, at selvom enkelte kapitalressourcer og livsfaser har en indflydelse, så er det de organisatoriske forhold, blandt andet medlemskab og arbejdsintensitet, der har den mest entydige indvirkning.

Søgeord: frivilligt arbejde, paneldata, integreret teori, frivillighedsdynamik, medlemskab.

Denne artikel vil bidrage til at tegne en tydeligere profil af de frivillige. Det empiriske fokus er dog ikke – som i størstedelen af undersøgelserne på området – at kortlægge, hvem der *bliver* frivillige. I stedet vil jeg bidrage til den mere sparsomme forståelse af, hvilke frivillige der vælger at *fortsætte* deres frivillige arbejde over en længere tidsperiode (Wilson 2012). I forlængelse heraf vil jeg afgøre, hvorvidt fastholdelse i frivilligt arbejde blot bør forstås som et spørgsmål om social selektion, eller hvorvidt organisatoriske aspekter i tilknytning til det frivillige arbejde er i stand til at fastholde de frivillige på tværs af sociale skel.

Vi ved fra et væld af både dansk og international forskning, at det største antal frivillige skal findes inden for befolkningsgrupper med høje grader af social, kulturel og human kapital – samt gerne midt i livet, hvor børn og andre sociale forpligtelser bringer den enkelte i kontakt med muligheder for at arbejde som frivillig (f.eks. Fridberg, Henriksen et al. 2014; Musick 2007; Svedberg, Essen & Jegermalm 2010; Wilson 2000; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014). Det skyldes især, at ressourcestærke individer er mere eftertragtede for frivillige organisationer og samtidig lettere mestrer de frivillige arbejdsopgaver, de stilles over for. Det kan derfor også med god grund formodes, at disse ressourcestærke befolkningsgrupper ikke blot har nemmere ved at påbegynde frivilligt arbejde, men også har lettere ved at fortsætte i det frivillige arbejde. Den hypotese har sit teoretiske udgangspunkt i den integrerede teori om frivilligt arbejde og i livsfaseteori (Wilson & Musick 1999).

I artiklen vil jeg dog argumentere for, at rent individfokuserede aspekter som livsfaser og kapitalressourcer er utilstrækkelige til fuldt ud at forstå stabilt frivilligt arbejde. Især må betydningen af den organisatoriske kontekst ikke overses, som meget af frivillighedsforskningen desværre har en tendens til at gøre (ifølge Haski-Leventhal & Bargal 2008; Moreno-Jiménez & Villodres 2010; Penner 2002). Derfor udvider jeg mit empiriske fokus til også at se på, om organisatoriske aspekter i tilknytning til det frivillige arbejde er i stand til at fastholde de frivillige på tværs af forskelle i deres kapitalressourcer. Begrundelsen herfor er, at når individer gennem deres frivillige arbejde påtager sig roller i frivillige organisationer, indgår de i bindende organisatoriske strukturer, der fostrer en forpligtelse og et tilhørsforhold, som går på tværs af ressourcestel og dermed fastholder den enkelte i rollen som frivillig (Hustinx 2010a; Tang et al. 2014; Wilson & Musick 1999). Den integrerede teori udvides dermed med en forståelse af organisatoriske forhold ved det frivillige arbejde såsom arbejdsområder, arbejdstid og medlemskab.

Min empiriske basis er paneldata fra den danske befolkningsundersøgelse af frivilligt arbejde, der blev udført i 2004 og 2012.

Konklusionen er overordnet set, at så snart den enkelte først er blevet frivillig, er det ikke entydigt et spørgsmål om kapitalressourcer, men i høj grad også et spørgsmål om arbejdets natur og omfang, der afgør, hvorvidt frivilligt arbejde bliver et kort bekendtskab eller et vedvarende engagement. Konclu-



sionen baserer sig blandt andet på, at undersøgelsen viser, at centrale mål for human kapital såsom uddannelse og beskæftigelse ikke har nogen signifikant positiv betydning, samt at social kapital kun viser sig at have en svag positiv effekt. Disse mål er ellers blandt de klareste indikatorer på at påbegynde frivilligt arbejde. Modsat er det slående, at samtlige mål for den organisatoriske kontekst har en stærk og signifikant indvirkning.

Det er en konklusion med vigtige perspektiver i en tid, hvor den organisatoriske kontekst for det frivillige arbejde er under stærk forandring hen mod det ikke-medlemsbaserede og mindre arbejdsintensive engagement. Men netop medlemskab og høj arbejdsintensitet viser sig i undersøgelsen her at være en klar indikator på stabilt frivilligt arbejde.

Adgang til frivilligt arbejde

Frivilligt arbejde defineres som en særlig form for ulønnet arbejdsindsats, der ikke udføres af tvang, som for eksempel det betalte arbejde, der er baseret på kontraktuelle forpligtelser, gør. Det frivillige arbejde udføres derimod af egen fri vilje og lyst. Samtidig er det frivillige arbejde til gavn for personer uden for den umiddelbare familie og venskabskreds, hvilket adskiller det fra den rene familiære eller venskabelige tjeneste (Fridberg, Henriksen et al. 2014). Eksempler på frivilligt arbejde er mange og omfatter blandt andet spejderledere, lektiehjælpere, naturguider, fodboldtrænere og meget andet.

Men selvom frivilligt arbejde altså adskiller sig substantielt fra betalt arbejde, så har frivilligt og betalt arbejde et centralt lighedspunkt: De involverer begge produktionen af et gode for andres konsumtion – tænk blot på børns idræt, lektiehjælp og spejderture (Taylor 2004). Som følge heraf bruger deltagelsen i frivilligt arbejde ressourcer som energi og tid og kræver bestemte færdigheder, som nogle mennesker i højere grad besidder end andre (Musick 2007). Derfor er det i forskningssammenhænge nyttigt at se frivilligt arbejde i samme lys som det betalte arbejde. Det tillader os nemlig at fokusere på hvilke ressourcer, der kræves for at tage del i produktionen af de goder, den frivillige sektor leverer (Wilson & Musick 1997). Netop den tilgang har vist sig at være særlig frugtbar i adskillige empiriske studier (f.eks. Fridberg, Henriksen et al. 2014; Musick 2007; Svedberg et al. 2010; Wilson 2000; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014).

Med udgangspunkt i den erkendelse er *den integrerede teori om frivilligt arbejde* særligt godt egnet som teoretisk ramme, da teorien søger at forklare deltagelse i frivilligt arbejde på baggrund af tre betragtninger: For det første, at frivilligt arbejde er en produktiv aktivitet og derfor kræver human kapital (uddannelse og beskæftigelseserfaring); for det andet, at det udføres kollektivt og derfor kræver social kapital (sociale netværk); og for det tredje, at det styres af etik og derfor kræver kulturel kapital (samfundsorientering). Grundtanken bag teoriens kapital-tankegang er, at når personer stilles over for transaktionsomkostningerne ved at engagere sig i frivilligt arbejde, vil de med en overflod af sociale, humane og kulturelle ressourcer i højere grad have mulighed for at vælge at engagere sig frivilligt (Wilson & Musick 1997).

I det følgende afsnit skaber jeg forbindelsen mellem, hvorfor de ressourcer, der kræves for at individer påtager sig frivilligt arbejde, også kan forventes at have en betydning for at fortsætte dette arbejde. Det sker med udgangspunkt i de tre former for kapital.

Kapitalressourcer

Human kapital er den række af individuelle ressourcer, der gør produktive aktiviteter mulige. Hertil tæller for eksempel aktuel erhvervserfaring, uddannelse, godt helbred, og andet der gør det nemmere for enkeltpersoner at mestre de arbejdsopgaver, de stilles over for (Coleman 1988). Derfor får både højtuddannede og erhvervsbeskæftigede – der kan overføre aktuel viden, færdigheder og certificeringer fra deres uddannelse og betalte beskæftigelse til det frivillige arbejde – lettere adgang til de frivillige arbejdsopgaver, de ønsker at beskæftige sig med (Smith 1994; Wilson 2000).

Derudover er fleksibel fri tid til at udføre det frivillige arbejde ligeledes en vigtig human kapitalressource. Langt de fleste frivillige vil nemlig ikke have mulighed for at komme og gå som de lyster. I stedet forpligter man sig som frivillig oftest til en bestemt tidsplan, der skal koordineres med andre frivillige. Den betragtning har konsekvenser for betydningen af erhvervsbeskæftigelse, som ligeledes er en produktiv aktivitet, der forbruger individers frie tid. Det kan derfor forventes, at individer med fleksible frem for ufleksible arbejdstider i højere grad har muligheden for selv at planlægge deres arbejdsliv således, at de kan prioritere det frivillige arbejde (Tang et al. 2014; Wilson & Musick 1999). Det betyder konkret, at fleksibelt frem for ufleksibelt erhvervsarbejde i højere grad må betragtes som en human kapitalressource for frivilligt arbejde.

Eftersom frivilligt arbejde er selvvalgt og ikke økonomisk eller på anden måde en nødvendig produktiv aktivitet for den enkelte, vil jeg fremlægge hypotesen, at individer med lave humane kapitalressourcer i højere grad vil vælge at opgive deres frivillige arbejde, formentlig for at prioritere deres begrænsede ressourcer til fordel for den mere nødvendige indsats i hjemmet eller på arbejdsmarkedet (Tang et al. 2014; Tang et al. 2010; Wilson & Musick 1999).

Social kapital defineres i denne sammenhæng snævert som de sociale netværk, der gør det nemmere for individer at indgå i samarbejde med andre (Coleman 1988). Eftersom frivilligt arbejde er en kollektiv aktivitet, der kræver evner for at indgå i et koordineret samarbejde med et væld af forskelligartede personer, er det rimeligt at antage, at personer med veludbyggede sociale netværk i højere grad vil føle sig hjemme i disse sociale fællesskaber og derfor forblive i det frivillige arbejde (Wilson & Musick 1999). Sociale netværk er desuden informationsbærende, og derfor er det gennem sociale netværk, at langt størstedelen af de frivillige har adgang til information om muligheder for at yde en frivillig indsats (Granovetter 1973). Derfor er det også oplagt at antage, at det er gennem sociale netværk, at individer kontinuerligt vil få muligheder for at deltage i frivilligt arbejde (Wilson & Musick 1999). Hypotesen bliver således, at individer med høje grader af social kapital i højere grad vælger at fortsætte som frivillige.

Kulturel kapital består af individuelle smage og tilbøjeligheder, der for eksempel kan erhverves gennem en bestemt opvækst inden for familien. Antagelsen er, at for individer der er socialiseret inden for en frivillighedskultur, vil frivilligt arbejde i højere grad blive set i et positivt lys eller ligefrem som noget naturgiven. Disse individer vil også i højere grad vide, hvordan man bedst kommer ind i det frivillige arbejde. Så ligesom man kan udvikle en smag for fine vine, kan bestemte grupper udvikle en smag for frivilligt arbejde. Kultur opfattes altså her ikke som en smag efter bestemte kulturelle objekter, men som en smag for bestemte sociale praksisser såsom frivilligt arbejde (Wilson & Musick 1997). Hypotesen er, at individer med høje grader af kulturel kapital føler sig bedre hjemme i det frivillige arbejde og derfor vælger at vedblive som frivillige.

Livsfaser

Ikke bare kapitalressourcer, men også livsfaser har vist sig at have en tæt relation til deltagelse i frivilligt arbejde (Wilson 2012). Livsfasekonceptet refererer til, hvordan sociale institutioner som familie, skole og arbejde indvæves i og dermed former individers liv. Som sådan er selve aldersvariablen af mindre interesse som selvstændigt mål, men refererer i stedet til det stadie i livet, en person er nået (Musick 2007). Frivillighedsforskningen opdeler individers liv i tre stadier: ungdom, voksenliv og alderdom. Især den tidlige ungdom er karakteriseret ved forbrug af frivilligt arbejde i relation til fritidsaktiviteter, men med lidt eller ingen engagement i arbejdet selv. Den senere ungdom er karakteriseret ved mindre engagement i frivillighed til fordel for uddannelse. Det er først i voksenlivet, at især det faktum at børn engagerer sig i skole og fritidsaktiviteter medvirker til, at forældre bliver draget med ind som bestyrelsesmedlemmer, fodboldtrænere og lignende. Men også indgangen til arbejdsmarkedet med dertilhørende opbygning af human kapital er af stor vigtighed (Musick 2007). De stabile mønstre af frivilligt arbejde, der især kan

forventes i voksenlivet, skyldes desuden den særlige stabilitet af de førnævnte roller på jobbet, i ægteskabet og som forældre i denne periode. Den stabilitet kan forventes at give ekstra overskud til deltagelse i ikke-essentielle produktive aktiviteter uden for hjemmet såsom frivilligt arbejde (Flanagan & Levine 2010; Wilson 2012). Alderdommen er derimod karakteriseret ved et exit fra samtlige af de førnævnte roller samt et nedadgående helbred. Derfor kan det forventes, at denne livsfase kan medføre, at også det frivillige arbejde afvikles (Musick 2007).

Organisatorisk kontekst

Frivilligt arbejde foregår – ligesom betalt arbejde – altid i en organisatorisk kontekst. Det kan for eksempel være en idrætsklub, en lektiecafé eller et plejehjem. Og ligesom med betalt arbejde, så kan den kontekst, den frivillige vælger at udføre sit arbejde inden for, antages at have betydning for både lysten og følelsen af forpligtelse til at føre arbejdet videre. Jeg har valgt at fokusere på især to parametre, som jeg vil argumentere for kan være særligt afgørende i den henseende: arbejdsintensitet og medlemskab.

Når man engagerer sig som frivillig, påtager man sig samtidig en rolle i en organisation, der i varierende grad vil være afhængig af ens frivillige arbejdskraft (Wuthnow 1995). I modsætning til private arbejdspladser, så er de organisationer, som frivillige finder deres virke i, dog i langt højere grad karakteriserede ved ikke at have fastlagte forventninger til arbejdsintensitet. Som frivillig har man derfor i højere grad mulighed for selvbestemmelse i relation til, hvor omfattende ens rolle bør være (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal 2008; Meyer et al. 2002). Der kan naturligvis være flere motiver til at vælge at forøge sin arbejdsintensitet, såsom tilfredsstillelsen der udledes fra arbejdet eller signalværdien udadtil – for at nævne et par eksempler (Qvist 2014). Men holdes fokus på det organisatoriske perspektiv, så kan den frivilliges valg om at udøve en større mængde arbejde for en given frivillig organisation forstås som en beslutning om at forøge sin tidsmæssige investering i, at den enkelte organisation kan fungere og nå sine målsætninger. Det er grundlæggende set et valg, der hænger sammen med en positiv identifikation med og anerkendelse af vigtigheden af organisationen og dens arbejde (Cuskelly & Boag 2001; Meyer et al. 2002). Dermed forøges incitamentet for at fortsætte for de særligt engagerede frivillige med en højere arbejdsintensitet, da disse i større udstrækning har investeret deres tid og arbejdskraft i organisationens videreførelse og succes samt i opnåelsen af de bredere målsætninger, organisationen arbejder hen mod (Cuskelly & Boag 2001; Wilson & Musick 1999). I praksis betyder det, at en frivillig, der investerer seks timer hver uge for at være træner i den lokale fodboldklub, vil have tendens til at tillægge klubbens resultat til både dette og næste års pokalturnering en højere værdi og derfor have sværere ved at opgive sit arbejde end en lignende frivillig, der lægger bare et par timer hver anden uge. Derfor er min hypotese, at jo mere tid den

enkelte vælger at dedikere til frivilligt arbejde, jo mere sandsynligt er det, at vedkommende forbliver frivillig.

Ud over arbejdsintensitet, så kan medlemskabet også være af særlig betydning. I sin klassiske form betyder medlemskabet, at den enkelte frivillige er udstyret med en række formaliserede og demokratisk funderede rettigheder, som ultimativt sikrer deltagernes medejerskab og indflydelse i den forening, som arbejdet udføres for. Således har den medlemsfrivillige møde- og stemmeret til generalforsamlingen og kan vælges ind i foreningens ledende organer (Ibsen et al. 2013; Selle 2013; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014). Den frivillige, som ikke er medlem, har derimod ikke automatisk samme demokratisk funderede indflydelsesmuligheder, men er oftere begrænset til at yde en frivillig indsats på præmisser, som lønnede ansatte har fastlagt – om end måske i en mindre formaliseret dialog med de frivillige (Koch-Nielsen & Michaelsen 2003). De ikke-medlemsbaserede former for frivillighed findes primært inden for frivillige organisationer samt offentlige eller selvejende institutioner. Det kan dreje sig om frivillige i kommunale besøgsordninger, i aktivitetscentre eller frivillige i de store humanitære NGO'er. Den medlemsbaserede frivillighed findes typisk inden for foreningerne, og eksempler kan være trænerne i den lokale fodboldklub, spejderledere eller naturguider i naturfredningsforeninger (Henriksen 2014a).

Forskere har længe påpeget, at på grund af den ikke-medlemsbaserede frivilligheds manglende demokratiske fundering, så har den enkelte frivillige ikke i samme omfang mulighed for at blive inddraget i det organisatoriske arbejde og vil dermed ikke i samme grad være integreret i beslutningsstrukturen inden for organisationen. Således bliver den enkeltes motivation til at fortsætte som frivillig i højere grad fokuseret på værdien af arbejdet i sig selv og i mindre grad på organisationen, som arbejdet udføres for. Den ikke-medlemsbaserede frivillige kan derfor antages at have lettere ved at forlade den pågældende organisation – og således også det frivillige arbejde som sådan – i modsætning til den medlemsfrivillige, der forventes at være engageret i en mere ansvarsfuld og forpligtende rolle i forhold til foreningens fremtidige udvikling og målsætninger (Henriksen 2014a; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014).

Det er samtidig målsætninger, som han eller hun kan have været med til at vedtage eller ligefrem udforme. I de tilfælde kan der yderligere være tale om, at medlemskabet sikrer en overensstemmelse mellem mål og værdier hos den enkelte frivillige og så organisationen, den frivillige arbejder for (Cuskelly & Boag 2001; Henriksen 2014a). Anderledes ser det ud med den ikke-medlemsbaserede frivillige, der generelt har færre muligheder for at præge organisationens generelle udvikling eller præmisserne for sit eget arbejde. Uden disse betydelige formelle indflydelsesmuligheder, der kan sikre den enkelte frivillige en stemme inden for organisationen, kan den eneste handlemulighed i tilfælde af et misforhold mellem den generelle udvikling for organisationen og den enkelte frivilliges prioriteringer være at forlade den enkelte organisation

og dermed måske også det frivillige arbejde som sådan (Allen & Mueller 2013; Elstub 2010; Garner & Garner 2011; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014).

Fordi medlemskabet både sikrer den frivillige indflydelsesmuligheder samt et ansvar for foreningens udvikling, er min hypotese, at medlemsfrivillige i højere grad forbliver frivillige.

Et tredje element fra den organisatoriske kontekst, der er værd at inddrage i denne analyse, er de forskelle, som findes på organisationer, der placeres inden for forskellige arbejdsområder. Især de religiøse frivillighedsbaserede fællesskaber har vist sig at have en afgørende positiv betydning for vedvarende frivilligt arbejde (Wilson & Janoski 1995; Wilson & Musick 1999). Forklaringen kan findes i, at den religiøse frivillighed – i endnu højere grad end andre former for frivillighed – tilbyder den enkelte et vedvarende og særligt tæt knyttet værdifællesskab, hvorfra han eller hun udleder kerneelementer af sin identitet, verdenssyn og eksistensgrundlag (Wuthnow 1995, Taniguchi & Thomas 2010). Dette stærke gruppetilhørsforhold kommer altså blandt andet til udtryk gennem øget stabilitet i det frivillige arbejde (Wilson & Musick 1999).

Derfor er min hypotese, at frivillige inden for det religiøse område i særlig høj grad forbliver i det frivillige arbejde.

Data og metode

Data består af et panel på 1.981 personer ($n=1.981$). Paneldeltagerne er en undergruppe bestående af de 63 % fra den repræsentative befolkningsundersøgelse af frivilligt arbejde i 2004 ($n_{2004}=3.134$ & svarprocent=75), som valgte at gennemføre endnu et interview i 2012 ($t=2$). Undersøgelsen baserer sig på telefoninterviews og er gennemført i et samarbejde mellem RUC, SDU, SFI og AAU.¹ Udvælgelseskriterierne er personer, der i 2004 var mellem 16 og 85 år og havde fast bopæl i Danmark.

Som ved lignede undersøgelser, er paneldeltagerne også i dette tilfælde selvselektet på baggrund af især ressourcestærkhed og interesse for emnet (se Hermansen 2015). Mål i panelet for totalantal stabilt frivillige, beskæftigede, akademikere med videre er derfor ikke nødvendigvis repræsentative for befolkningen som helhed. Men de mekanismer, der identificeres i panelet – altså sammenhængen *mellem* de enkelte mål – bør med stor sikkerhed fortsat være gyldige, og derfor kan brugen af paneldata legitimeres (Frederiksen & Møberg 2014).

Afhængig variabel

Stabilt frivilligt arbejde ('04 & '12): I begge undersøgelser blev respondenter spurgt, om de havde udført frivilligt arbejde inden for det seneste år på tolv forskellige arbejdsområder. Variablen kodes som en dummyvariabel, der antager værdien 1 hvis respondenter var frivillig på mindst ét område i både '04 og '12, og 0 hvis respondenter kun var frivillig i '04 men ikke '12.

Variablen er det bedste mål for stabilt frivilligt arbejde, der er til rådighed, men har alligevel visse begrænsninger. For det første er det ikke muligt at tage højde for, om den enkelte skulle have skiftet over til en ny organisation i mellemtiden.² For det andet vil der, på grund af det store tidsmæssige spring på otte år mellem undersøgelsens to bølger, findes en risiko for, at enkelte respondenter kan have været ude af det frivillige arbejde i mellemtiden og derfor ikke kan betragtes som stabilt frivillige. Alt andet lige må det dog antages, at respondenter, der er frivillige på begge tidspunkter, med størst sandsynlighed er de stabilt frivillige eller i det mindste har den tætteste tilknytning til det frivillige arbejde.

Human kapital

Uddannelse ('12): Det højest opnåede uddannelsesniveau bruges som mål for respondenteres uddannelse. Uddannelse er kodet som en dummy-variable, der angiver, om respondenter har en lang videregående uddannelse eller ej.³

Helbred & fysisk mobilitet ('12): Det aktuelle psykiske og fysiske helbreds- og funktionsniveau måles på en selvrapporтерet ordinal fempunktsskala. Spørgsmålet er kun stillet i 2012.

Beskæftigelse ('12): Der anvendes en serie af dummyvariable. *Fleksibelt arbejde* angiver om respondenter har angivet arbejde med fleksible arbejdstider. *Ufleksibelt arbejde* angiver om respondenter har angivet arbejde med ufleksible arbejdstider. *Studerende* angiver om respondenter er fuldtidsstuderende. Referencekategorierne er *pensionister* og *arbejdsløse*, som er valgt, fordi disse to grupper ikke er aktuelt beskæftiget i andre produktive aktiviteter.

Social kapital

Sociale netværk ('12): Der er konstrueret et indeks bestående af fire variable, som på fempunkts ordinale skalaer måler graden af kontakt til (1) *familie og slægt*, (2) *naboer og andre i nærområdet*, (3) *tidligere kollegaer* samt (4) *nuværende kollegaer*.⁴

Kulturel kapital

Tradition for frivilligt arbejde ('12): Respondenter er blevet spurgt, om de under opvæksten mener, at der har været tradition for frivilligt arbejde i familien. Svarene falder på en fempunkts ordinal skala.

Livsfaser

Alder ('12): Alder inddrages med seks tiårskategorier fra 24 år og op. Kategorien 24-33 år svarer til sen ungdom, kategorierne mellem 34-63 år til voksenlivet og 64+ til alderdom.

Børn i skolealderen ('12): Hjemmeboende børn i skolealderen defineres som børn i alderen (6-15 år) i 2012.⁵

Organisatorisk kontekst

Medlemskab ('04): Respondenter er blevet spurgt, om de er medlemmer af den organisation, det frivillige arbejde udføres for. Svarer respondenteren ja mindst én gang, kodes vedkommende som medlemsfrivillig.⁶

Logaritmen af frivilligt timetal ('04): Respondenter har desuden estimeret deres årlige timeforbrug på frivilligt arbejde. For at mindske betydningen af ekstremt høje timetal (outliers), er logaritmen af timetallet anvendt. For at bevare stikprøvestørrelsen er enkelte manglende besvarelser erstattet med gennemsnitsværdien.⁷

Religionsområdet ('04): Respondenter der har arbejdet som frivillige inden for religionsområdet.

For at kunne sammenligne stabilt frivillige med frafaldne, er målene for den organisatoriske kontekst alle hentet fra 2004-undersøgelsen. Den enkelte frivillige kan dog have ændret status i mellemtiden – for eksempel kan man have justeret sit tidsforbrug væsentligt på otte år – og det vil påvirke reliabiliteten af disse mål. Det lader dog til, at den organisatoriske kontekst er relativt stabil over tid. Tidforbruget i '04 er således stærkt signifikant korreleret med tidsforbruget i '12 ($r=0,27^{***}$), 80 % af de stabile medlemsfrivillige er medlemmer begge år og 60 % af de stabile religionsfrivillige er forblevet på religionsområdet.

Kontrolvariable

Køn ('12): Mænd arbejder i højere grad frivilligt (Fridberg et al. 2014). For at undersøge, om det også har effekt på stabiliteten, inkluderes køn.

Logaritmen af antal år boet i lokalområdet ('12): Personer, der bor mange år i samme lokalområde, kan have større viden om lokale frivillige aktiviteter og have større sociale netværk i lokalområdet. Igen er logaritmen anvendt for at håndtere ekstreme værdier, og de få manglende besvarelser er erstattet med gennemsnitsværdien.

Deskriptiv analyse

Panelet kan deles op i fire grupper med hensyn til, hvorvidt den enkelte yder en frivillig indsats: (1) *de stabilt ikke-frivillige*, som ikke har udøvet frivilligt arbejde i hverken 2004 eller 2012, (2) *de stabilt frivillige*, som har udøvet frivilligt arbejde i både 2004 og 2012, (3) *de frafaldne*, som har udøvet frivilligt arbejde i 2004 men ikke 2012, og til sidst (4) *de nytilkomne*, som ikke har udøvet frivilligt arbejde i 2004 men kun i 2012. Den simple fordeling i panelet for de fire grupper ses i tabel 1.

Den primære interesse for undersøgelsen er forskellen i kapitalressourcer, livsfaser og organisatorisk kontekst for gruppen af stabilt frivillige (de 23 %) over for de frafaldne (de 16 %). For at give en forståelse af den sociale profil for de to grupper, vil jeg dog først sammenligne dem med de stabilt ikke-frivillige (de 47 %). Det er gjort i nedenstående tabel, hvor de tre grupper er opdelt på baggrund af relevante variable.

Tabel 1.

Andele af frivillige inden for det sidste år i 2004 og 2012 blandt paneldeltagere.

	Ikke-frivillig '12	Frivillig '12	Total
Ikke-frivillig '04	931 47 %	284 14 %	1.215 61 %
Frivillig '04	315 16 %	450 23 %	765 39 %
Total	1.246 63 %	734 37 %	1.980 100 %

Som det fremgår af tabel 2, adskiller de stabilt ikke-frivillige sig entydigt fra både stabilt frivillige og de frafaldne på stort set alle parametre.⁸ Stabilt ikke-frivillige har mindre fleksibelt arbejde, lavere uddannelse, dårligere helbred, færre sociale netværk, er i mindre grad vokset op med en tradition for frivillighed og har ikke børn i skolealderen.⁹ Den konklusion støtter klart den integrerede teori om frivilligt arbejde: Deltagelse i frivilligt arbejde, selv kortvarigt, afhænger i høj grad af kapitalressourcer og livsfaser.

For undersøgelsens fokus på forskelle i kapitalressourcer mellem stabilt frivillige og frafaldne betyder det, at eftersom lavressource-personer ikke i samme omfang påbegynder frivilligt arbejde, så bliver det noget sværere at observere klare forskelle i kapitalressourcer mellem dem, som forlader det frivillige arbejde igen, og så dem som bliver: De to grupper er begge karakteriseret ved et relativt højt ressourceniveau. Alligevel er der dog en række centrale ressource- og livsfasemål, som er signifikant forskellige mellem de stabile og de frafaldne, og det giver god basis for at fortsætte med ressourceperspektivet i den følgende multivariate analyse. Samtidig er det interessant at observere, at samtlige mål for organisatorisk kontekst har en stærk signifikant bivariat betydning.

Multivariat analyse og diskussion

Til den multivariate analyse anvender jeg en stationær logistisk regressionsmodel. Modellen udtrykker den simultane sandsynlighed for at være frivillig i både 2004 og 2012 frem for kun i 2004 og ikke i 2012, givet en række individuelle kvaliteter. De estimerede β -koefficienter, der er rapporteret i tabel 3, er de logistiske koefficienter, hvorfra odds-ratio koefficienterne ved $x=1$ er udledt ved hjælp af eksponentialfunktionen (). Odds-ratio-koefficienter over ét ($OR>1$) angiver en positiv sandsynlighed for stabil frivillighed, mens koefficienter under ét ($OR<1$) angiver en negativ sandsynlighed.

Tabel 2.

Deskriptiv statistik over de tre befolkningsgrupper i panelet, samt t-test af andelsforskelle mellem stabilt frivillige og frafaldne ($\alpha=10\%$) (* $p<0,10$ ** $p<0,05$ *** $p<0,01$). ($n_1=931$), ($n_2=450$), ($n_3=315$).

	Stabilt ikke-frivillige	Stabilt frivillige	Frafaldne	Difference
	μ_1	μ_2	μ_3	$\mu_2-\mu_3$
Kapitalressourcer				
Fleksibelt lønarbejde (0-1)	0,15	0,27	0,23	0,04
Ufleksibelt lønarbejde (0-1)	0,40	0,40	0,45	-0,05
Studerende (0-1)	0,04	0,03	0,04	-0,01
LVU (0-1)	0,10	0,19	0,14	0,05**
Helbred & fysisk mobilitet (0-2)	1,64	1,79	1,68	0,10***
Sociale netværk (0-4)	2,31	2,56	2,47	0,09**
Tradition for frivillighed (0-3)	0,68	1,31	0,94	0,37***
Livsfaser				
24-33 (0-1)	0,14	0,08	0,12	-0,04*
34-43 (0-1)	0,18	0,22	0,16	0,07**
44-53 (0-1)	0,19	0,23	0,31	-0,08**
54-63 (0-1)	0,21	0,24	0,21	0,02
64-73 (0-1)	0,18	0,14	0,12	0,02
74+ (0-1)	0,10	0,09	0,07	0,02
Børn i skolealder (0-1)	0,17	0,25	0,20	0,05
Organisatorisk kontekst				
Religionsområdet (0-1)	-	0,08	0,03	0,05***
Medlemskab (0-1)	-	0,85	0,74	0,11***
Log årlige frivillige timer	-	4,17	3,85	0,32***
Kontrolvariable				
Mand (0-1)	0,43	0,54	0,48	0,06
Log år boet i lokalområde	2,57	2,71	2,50	0,21***

I den logistiske regressionsmodel, som ses i tabel 3, forekommer der interessante ændringer i betydningen af især human kapital. Særlig bemærkelsesværdigt er det, at en lang videregående uddannelse, som ellers er en af de sikreste indikatorer for at påbegynde frivilligt arbejde, viser sig ikke længere at have en signifikant indvirkning på at fortsætte i det frivillige arbejde. Dette resultat støttes af en lignende undersøgelse foretaget af Tang et al. (2010), om end resultatet ikke genfindes i Wilson & Musick (1999).

Samtidig viser det sig meget overraskende, at beskæftigelse generelt lader til at have en negativ sammenhæng med stabilt frivilligt arbejde, om end det kun er for personer med en beskæftigelse med ufleksible arbejdstider, at den effekt er signifikant. Dette resultat indikerer, at fleksibel fri tid er langt vigtigere for at fortsætte i frivilligt arbejde end den humane kapital, der opbyg-

Tabel 3.

Multivariat logistisk regressionsmodel for stabilt frivilligt engagement. (n=755), (Pseudo-R²=0,08), (α =10%) (*p<0,10 **p<0,05 ***p<0,01).

	$\hat{\beta}$	p	se	OR x=1
Kapitalressourcer				
Fleksibelt lønarbejde (0-1)	-0,38	0,173	0,19	0,69
Ufleksibelt lønarbejde (0-1)	-0,57**	0,031	0,15	0,57
Studerende (0-1)	-0,32	0,555	0,39	0,73
<i>Pensionist, arbejdsløs (ref.)</i>				
LVU (0-1)	0,25	0,256	0,29	1,29
Helbred & fysisk mobilitet (0-2)	0,47***	0,004	0,26	1,61
Sociale netværk (0-4)	0,26*	0,066	0,18	1,30
Tradition for frivillighed (0-3)	0,22***	0,001	0,09	1,25
Livsfaser				
24-33 (0-1)	0,15	0,663	0,39	1,16
34-43 (0-1)	0,59**	0,016	0,45	1,81
<i>44-53 (ref.)</i>				
54-63 (0-1)	0,46**	0,049	0,38	1,59
64-73 (0-1)	0,34	0,277	0,44	1,40
74+ (0-1)	0,3	0,436	0,51	1,35
Børn i skolealder (0-1)	0,4*	0,076	0,33	1,48
Organisatorisk kontekst				
Religionsområdet (0-1)	0,94**	0,014	0,98	2,56
Medlemskab (0-1)	0,51**	0,011	0,34	1,67
Log årlige frivillige timer	0,12**	0,046	0,07	1,13
Kontrolvariable				
Mand (0-1)	0,18	0,249	0,19	1,20
Log år boet i lokalområde	0,19**	0,029	0,10	1,21
<i>Konstant</i>	-2,99***	0,000	0,03	0,050

ges gennem beskæftigelse. Det er således et modsatrettet resultat, i forhold til hvad man kan forvente ud fra kapitalteorien. Men det stemmer godt overens at frivilligt arbejde er en mindre nødvendig produktiv aktivitet, relativt til betalt arbejde. Skulle de to komme i karambolage, og er der ikke mulighed for at disponere frit over sin betalte arbejdstid, så opgives det ubetalte frivillige arbejde altså i højere grad (Wilson & Musick 1999).

I studiet af tidsforbrug inden for frivilligt arbejde har det vist sig, at visse faktorer, der hænger sammen med hvorvidt man bliver frivillig, har en negativ indvirkning på hvor meget tid, man bruger på det frivillige arbejde (Qvist

2014).¹⁰ Ligeledes finder studier som dette af stabilitet i frivilligt arbejde, at mål, der forudsiger om man bliver frivillig, ikke nødvendigvis hænger sammen med eller ligefrem har en negativ sammenhæng med, om man fortsætter i det frivillige arbejde. I begge tilfælde er muligheden for selv at disponere over større mængder af fri tid et vigtigt omdrejningspunkt (McNamara & Gonzales 2011).

Et enkelt human kapital-mål viser sig dog at have den forventede indvirkning: At være fysisk hindret på grund af handicap eller dårligt fysisk eller psykisk helbred har en signifikant negativ effekt på stabilt frivilligt arbejde. Det giver god mening, da handicap eller dårligt helbred er en helt konkret udfordring, når det kommer til at deltage i produktive aktiviteter såsom frivilligt arbejde. Spørgsmålet er desværre kun stillet i '12, men ved at se på lignende undersøgelser må det formodes, at der er tale om, at det er en forringelse af helbredet eller det fysiske mobilitetsniveau, som har ført til et ophør i det frivillige arbejde (Butrica et al. 2009; McNamara & Gonzales 2011; Tang et al. 2010; Wilson & Musick 1999).

Når fokus flyttes fra human kapital til de to andre kapitaltyper, så ses det overraskende nok, at graden af sociale netværk kun har en svag signifikant effekt – selv ved et mere lempeligt alfa-niveau på 10 %. Omfanget af sociale netværk antages sædvanligvis at øge sandsynligheden for at påbegynde frivilligt arbejde (Musick 2007; Wilson 2012), men lader altså ikke – ifølge studiet her – til at have en entydig effekt på at fortsætte i det frivillige arbejde. Inden for kulturel kapital ses der dog stadig en stærk forskel. For personer, der er vokset op med en stærk tradition for frivillighed i familien, er det næsten dobbelt så sandsynligt¹¹, at de er stabilt frivilligt frem for personer, der ikke vokset op med en tradition for frivillighed overhovedet.

Inden for livsfaser ser vi kun en svagt signifikant positiv effekt af at have børn. Som forventet forekommer stabilitet i det frivillige arbejde i det voksne liv i 30erne og de tidlige 40ere samt midt i 50erne og ti år frem. For aldersgruppen i 30erne er det en effekt, der ikke udelukkende kan tilskrives beskæftigelse eller børn, som der er blevet kontrolleret for, men den har formentlig i højere grad at gøre med stabiliteten af disse forhold i voksenlivet. Lidt overraskende er det dog, at aldersgruppen 44-53 år viser sig at være den mindst stabile. Det er svært at komme med en fyldestgørende tolkning, men det er alderen, hvor de voksne børn flytter hjemmefra samt en af de aldersgrupper, hvor flest skilsmisses forekommer (Danmarks Statistik 2014). Følger man livsfaseteorien må man antage, at ustabilitet i hjemmet og i omgangskredsen kan have en negativ effekt på overskud til ikke-essentielle aktiviteter uden for hjemmet (Musick 2007).

Selvom kontrolvariablene ikke er det primære fokus for undersøgelsen, er det dog værd at nævne den signifikante effekt af antal år, som den enkelte har boet i sit lokalområde. At være relativt nytilkommet i et område kan dels antages at have medført, at det tidligere frivillige arbejde andetsteds er op-

hørt, uden at et nyt nødvendigvis er påbegyndt (Butrica et al. 2009). Samtidig kan det forventes, at de mindre tætte bånd til lokalsamfundet gør det mindre sandsynligt, at individer kender til fortsatte muligheder for at engagere sig frivilligt lokalt (Granovetter 1973).

Også i den multivariate analyse viser alle mål for den organisatoriske kontekst sig fortsat at være signifikante. Det betyder, at disse organisatoriske forhold har en vigtig rolle at spille for stabilt frivilligt arbejde på trods af individuelle forskelle i livsfaser og kapitalressourcer. Dermed bekræftes altså forventningen om, at stabilitet i frivilligt arbejde ikke kan reduceres til et spørgsmål om ressourcer og livsfaser.

Det skal først nævnes, at den stærkeste organisatoriske effekt findes blandt frivillige inden for religionsområdet, som i gennemsnit har langt over dobbelt så høje odds (OR=2,56) for at være stabilt frivillige end personer, der er frivillige inden for andre arbejdsområder. Resultatet går igen hos (Wilson & Musick 1999). Som påpeget i den teoretiske diskussion er religionsområdet dog et meget særligt område inden for den frivillige sektor. Samtidig er det et af de mindre frivillighedsområder i Danmark, hvor kun 15 % af de frivillige befinder sig (Fridberg 2014). På baggrund af de to overvejelser, så har resultatet ikke den store betydning for sektoren som hele. Alligevel er fundet sociologisk interessant, fordi det peger mod, at den klassiske sociologiske forståelse af, at de mest traditionelt værdifunderede sociale fællesskaber samtidig er de mest bindende, også har gyldighed inden for den moderne frivillige sektor (Wilson & Janoski 1995). Desuden viser det sig, at de religionsfrivillige både i højere grad er medlemmer og har en høj arbejdsintensitet, og derfor bliver det vigtigt at kontrollere for dette område i modellen.

Det er dog arbejdstimer og medlemskab, der er de mest alment interessante mål for den organisatoriske kontekst for den frivillige sektor som helhed. Blandt andet fordi disse går på tværs af arbejdsområder.

Her viser det sig, at antallet af timer, der er brugt på frivilligt arbejde inden for det sidste år i 2004, som forventet har en signifikant positiv sammenhæng med stabilt frivilligt arbejde. Det understreger, at det først og fremmest er de frivillige, der har investeret mindre mængder af tid i arbejdet for en frivillig organisation, der med størst sandsynlighed falder fra igen, og ikke de frivillige med det tidskrævende engagement, der brænder ud. Det resultat går igen i mange andre studier (Butrica et al. 2009; Choi & Chou 2010; McNamara & Gonzales 2011; Moreno-Jiménez & Villodres 2010; Wilson & Musick 1999).

Ser man på medlemskabet, så viser undersøgelsen, at når der kontrolleres for relevante individfaktorer samt andre organisatoriske forhold, så har medlemsfrivillige op mod dobbelt så stor sandsynlighed for at være stabilt frivillig end ikke-medlemsfrivillige (OR=1,67**). Det resultat er med til at sandsynliggøre den teoretiske formodning om, at de frivillige, der vælger at engagere sig som medlemmer, i højere grad bliver indlejret i ansvarsfulde beslutningsstrukturer og dermed forbliver i den enkelte forening og således i det frivillige

arbejde som sådan. Den antagelse underbygges af andre empiriske studier, der især påpeger, at erfaringen af at have adgang til stærke og formaliserede indflydelsesmuligheder er stærkt positivt korreleret med intentioner om at fortsætte som frivillig (Allen & Mueller 2013; Garner & Garner 2011). I den danske frivillige sektor er både indflydelse og ansvar traditionelt blevet tilskyndet gennem en demokratisk funderet medlemskabsmodel inden for foreningen. De relativt nye former for ikke-medlemsbaserede frivillige – der for eksempel er organiseret af kommuner, selvejende institutioner, socialøkonomiske virksomheder eller store frivillige organisationer¹² – er ikke automatisk garanteret muligheden for samme organisatoriske ansvar og indflydelsesmuligheder (Selle 1996), og det kan betyde, at disse frivillige ikke i samme grad fortsætter i det frivillige arbejde.

Sammenholder man betydningen af medlemskabet med arbejdsintensitet – som er to aspekter, der oftest følges positivt ad – så dannes der et klart billede af, at forpligtende og betydningsfulde roller inden for den enkelte frivillige organisation er helt essentielle for at knytte den enkelte til organisationen og dermed sikre en stabil frivillig indsats (Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014).

Når det resultat er særligt interessant, så skyldes det for det første, at den mest markante udvikling i strukturen af det frivillige arbejde fra '04 til '12 er det skarpe fald i netop de medlemsfrivillige. Mens det i 2004 var 79 % af de frivillige, der var medlemmer af den organisation, det frivillige arbejde blev udført for, er det tal nede på 70 % i 2012 – altså et fald på 9 %-point (Henriksen 2014a). For det andet, så er det gennemsnitlige tidsforbrug faldet fra 19 til 18 timer om måneden, og det kan indikere, at intensiteten af det frivillige arbejde ligeledes er svagt nedadgående¹³ (Henriksen 2014b). Begge disse danske udviklingstendenser falder godt i tråd med den internationale forskning, som peger på, at den frivilliges rolle i højere grad udvikler sig mod de mere uforpligtende former (Eliasoph 2011; Hustinx 2010b; Wollebæk & Sivesind 2014). I relation til den udvikling – både internationalt og i Danmark – bidrager undersøgelsen her med et nyt kritisk perspektiv på det forhold, at en omstrukturering af den organisatoriske kontekst for frivilligt arbejde mod de ikke-medlemsbaserede og mindre arbejdsintensive indsatser i højere grad kan betyde en frivillig sektor, der har svært ved at holde på sine frivillige.

Konklusion

Selv kortvarig deltagelse i frivilligt arbejde er i høj grad et spørgsmål om livsfaser og ikke mindst kapitalressourcer. Men når foden først er inden for døren, betyder det mindre, hvor man er i livet og hvilke ressourcer, man har. De anvendte mål for human kapital såsom uddannelse og arbejdsmarkedsstatus, der samtidig udgør centrale mål for social stratificering, har ikke signifikant positiv betydning for stabilt frivilligt arbejde. Beskæftigelse med ufleksible arbejdstider viser sig ligefrem at have en negativ effekt. Desuden har sociale netværk kun en moderat betydning. Livsfaser har også i mindre grad den kla-

re indvirkning, som vi finder i studier af påbegyndelsen af frivilligt arbejde. Anderledes ser det ud med målene for den organisatoriske kontekst. Både det at være medlem af den organisation, arbejdet udføres for, samt arbejdsintensiteten af det frivillige arbejde styrker omfanget af stabilt frivilligt arbejde. Det har desuden også en betydning, om arbejdet er religiøst baseret eller ej. For fremtidig forskning peger konklusionen her på, at studier af fastholdelse af frivillige i høj grad kan drage nytte af at se på flere forhold ved det frivillige arbejde og de frivillige organisationer frem for blot de frivillige selv. Derudover leder konklusionen frem til en bekymring for stabiliteten i det frivillige arbejde, når den holdes op imod de aktuelle organisatoriske udviklingstræk væk fra medlemskabet og hen imod en lavere arbejdsintensitet.

Noter

1. Den generelle afrapportering for undersøgelsen findes i Fridberg, Henriksen et al. 2014.
2. Blot 34 % angiver at have skiftet til et nyt arbejdsområde mellem '04 og '12. Det betyder, at det kun er cirka en tredjedel af de stabile frivillige, der med sikkerhed har skiftet til en ny organisation.
3. Det snævre fokus på lang videregående uddannelse skyldes, at det har vist sig at være den eneste uddannelseskategori med en positiv indvirkning på den afhængige variabel.
4. Variablene er valgt med en målsætning om at undgå endogenitetsproblemer. Derfor er kategorien "venner og bekendte uden for nærmiljøet" samt "andre" udeladt, da disse kan tænkes netop at være personer man møder gennem det frivillige arbejde.
5. En tidligere model har indeholdt en opdeling af børn i skolealderen for både '04 og/eller '12 (Frederiksen & Møberg 2014), men opdelingen gav ikke signifikante resultater og er derfor udeladt.
6. Det er dermed muligt, at en respondent kan være både medlem og ikke-medlem. Dette tager undersøgelsen her ikke højde for.
7. Under antagelsen om tilfældigt manglende besvarelser samt at det drejer sig om en relativ lille del af besvarelserne (5 %), mener jeg, at dette ellers udskældte metodiske greb kan forsvares i tilfældet her. Den umiddelbare effekt vil antageligvis være, at den estimerede betakoefficient for variabelen vil være et lidt mere konservativt bud (Acocck 2005).
8. Den eneste undtagelse er, at stabilt ikke-frivillige har boet længere tid i deres lokalområde end de frafaldne.
9. Disse sammenhænge er efterprøvet ved t-test i forskel i andele, men udeladt af tabellen af oversigtshensyn.
10. En tidligere version af denne model har forsøgt at inkorporere indsigterne fra studier af tidsforbrug i frivilligt arbejde ved at se på, om omfanget af arbejdstid samt ændringer i arbejdstid har en effekt på stabilitet. Det viste sig ikke at være tilfældet her.
11. $OR = e^{(0,22 \cdot 3)} = 1,93$
12. En tidligere version af modellen forsøgte at tage højde for, hvilke sektorer den frivillige var organiseret inden for – dvs. offentligt, foreningsliv, selvejende institutioner – men disse havde ingen klar effekt.
13. Eftersom der kun er tale om en mindre – men dog signifikant – ændring over to datapunkter i tid, bør der tages forbehold for, at dette fald kan være et mindre udsving og ikke udtryk for et fortsat fald i timetallet.

Litteratur

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Artikel 4

The Effect of Volunteer Work on Employability: A Study with Danish Survey and Administrative Register Data

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In addition to benefiting others, volunteer work is argued to supply volunteers themselves with skills, reputation, and social connections that increase overall employability. We test this hypothesized link between volunteer work and employability with a high-quality 2012 Danish survey sample of 1,796 individuals of working age. The survey data is linked to administrative registers with individual level data on unemployment. A combination of detailed controls, lagged dependent variables, and instrumental variable regression is used in order to determine cause and effect. Our findings show that volunteers generally do not have a statistically significantly reduced risk or rate of unemployment.

Keywords: volunteering, unemployment, employability.

Introduction

An estimated one in every three Europeans perform volunteer work (European Commission 2007). In doing so, they are supplying others with valuable services such as social care, recreation, political representation, and cultural enrichment. In this paper, we will determine whether volunteers are not only bringing benefit to others, but whether volunteer work also benefits the volunteer him or herself in at least one important way: by increasing their employability (Menchik & Weisbrod 1987; Wilson & Musick 2003).

Unemployment constitutes one of the most severe social risks that individuals are subject to. Experiencing prolonged periods of unemployment has multifaceted negative consequences for short and long-term earnings (Marczak 2009), social standing (Letkemann 2002), and physical and psychological health (Browning & Heinesen 2012). In order to avoid periods of unemployment, individuals are encouraged to invest their time in activities outside of the workplace that raise their private and professional capacity for employment—i.e. their employability (Smith 2010). One such activity may be unpaid volunteer work, which is theoretically hypothesized to increase employability since it may provide individuals with job-related skills; extend social networks that carry information on new job positions; and signals one's work ethic and social conscience to potential employers.

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Even though employability is often cited as a benefit of volunteer work few studies have linked volunteer work to a reduced risk or rate of unemployment. Moreover, the few studies that do so rely on either anecdotal accounts or quantitative techniques that are not able to determine cause and effects (Spera et al. 2015). The current study fills this key gap in the research literature by empirically determining whether volunteer work has a quantifiable effect on risk and rate of unemployment.

This study relies on a subsample (n=1,796) of the high-quality 2012 Danish Volunteer Survey. The survey has a high response rate (67%) and contains detailed information on type and amount of volunteer work. Via data from administrative registers at Statistics Denmark, we retrieve exact information on background characteristics and weekly unemployment status for each survey respondent. We make use of a combination of high quality controls from administrative registers, lagged dependent variables, and instrumental variable regression in order to determine the effect of volunteer work on risk and rate of unemployment.

Our empirical analysis shows that volunteers generally do not have a statistically significantly lower risk or rate of unemployment. We tested the robustness of this result by examining the type and intensity of volunteer work more closely in order to see whether more time spent volunteering or volunteering on a board of directors would have an effect. However, we found that any effect of volunteer work on employability, albeit, insignificant either disappeared completely or became negative, when volunteer work was either performed for more than 50 hours a year or off a board of directors. These results only further underline the elusiveness of volunteer work as a way of gaining employability for the typical volunteer.

Employability and Volunteer Work

Individuals who are disproportionately able to achieve and maintain employment—and consequently ward off periods of unemployment—are said to have a high rate of employability (McQuaid & Lindsay 2005). Employability is a multifaceted concept, which, according to Kanter, consists of “... *a person’s accumulation of human and social capital—skills, reputation, and connections—which can be invested in new opportunities that arise inside and outside the employee’s current organization.*” (Kanter 1995). In order to increase one’s employability, one should therefore focus on investing time in activities that will increase one’s stock of human, social, (and cultural) capital (Smith 2010).

One effective way of increasing one’s stock of relevant capital resources may be by performing volunteer work. By volunteer work, we refer to unpaid work that benefits others outside of the home, and which is performed in a formal organizational setting (Salamon & Sokolowski 2001; Wilson & Musick 1997). The notion that volunteer work increases employability certainly has firm intuitive and theoretical merit. Participating in volunteer work may be a way to acquire job-related skills that are advantageous when applying for work (*human capital*). It may also extend the social networks of

individuals, providing them with contacts and information about new job positions (*social capital*). And finally, volunteer work is a way for individuals to signal their work ethic and social conscience to potential employers (*cultural capital*).

All of these mechanisms may work in tandem in order to increase the employability of volunteers and it is not possible for this study to highlight one mechanism over another. However, we want to supply a firm theoretical basis for our empirical investigation, we account for each of these three mechanisms in more detail.

Human capital refers to individual resources such as knowledge and skills that enable productive activities (Schultz 1961). It is often assumed that productive skills are required solely through the paid job market, however, unpaid volunteer work is likewise a productive activity that provides others with goods and services (Taylor 2004; Wilson & Musick 1997). In performing their unpaid volunteer duties, volunteers are, for instance, likely to be coordinating the efforts of a volunteer group, giving presentations, raising funds, or editing websites and newsletters. All of these activities can be argued to foster productive skills that are equally useful on the paid job market (Menchik & Weisbrod 1987; Wilson & Musick 2003).

Social capital refers to resources nested within social networks of two or more individuals (Coleman 1988). Particularly social networks consisting of individuals that are not family or close friends—so-called weak ties—are of importance to employability since such networks may carry information on new paid jobs by bridging the gaps between otherwise unconnected groups of individuals, thereby linking one to opportunities nested outside of one's immediate social circle (Granovetter 1983). Formal organizations such as voluntary and nonprofit organizations are common sources of weak ties since these public organizations are highly likely to consist of individuals outside of one's close-knit community of family and friends (Day & Devlin 1998; Granovetter 1973; 1995; Menchik & Weisbrod 1987; Wilson & Musick 2003).

Cultural capital consists of individual tastes, attitudes, and practices that are essential for the successful presentation of the self (Smith 2010). Volunteering is a highly regarded practice in western society, and volunteers are most often thought of in approving terms by others (Handy et al. 2010). This is likely due to the fact that unpaid work is tied to positive qualities such as personal interest, dedication to a cause, and an altruistic attitude towards one's fellow citizens. When one takes on a role as a volunteer, it may therefore send a positive signal of one's work ethic, moral character, and productive and social skills to potential employers (Handy et al. 2010; Spera et al. 2015). In so far as employers seek out productive and motivated employees with high levels of integrity, volunteering seems to be a good way to convey these sought-after qualities to potential employers (Smith 2010).

Time Spent and Type of Volunteer Work

The underlying theoretical assumption in this study is that simply performing volunteer work has an effect on increased employability. However, we do need to recognize that

volunteer work may have a different effect on employability depending on at least two factors: (1) the time devoted to volunteer work and (2) the task performed as a volunteer.

As an unpaid volunteer, one is likely free to choose how much time one wants to devote to one's role within the voluntary and nonprofit organization. Devoting more time to volunteer work may enable one to take on more demanding tasks as well as increase one's accumulation of practical experience. Devoting more time may also strengthen the intensity of social ties to others within the organization as well as provide more opportunities to come into contact with other volunteers. Both of these arguments are crucial to Menchik & Weisbrod's influential investment model of volunteer work, in which each hour donated to volunteer work is hypothetically motivated, in part, by an increased payoff in human and social capital (Menchik & Weisbrod 1987). It may therefore be likely that an increased time invest could increase the employability benefits of performing volunteer work.

We may furthermore want to take into account that volunteers perform a variety of roles within voluntary and nonprofit organizations and the plausibility that the ability and rate of one's accumulation of capital resources depends on the type of volunteer work that is performed. Specifically, volunteering on or off a board of directors may be an important distinction in this regard. Volunteers who are on a board of directors are increasingly likely to take on organizational tasks that are more challenging in terms of planning- and organizational skills (Balduck et al. 2009). Building on the finding that there is a further selection of high-resource individuals on a board of directors, it is likely that the quality of social connections may be higher for volunteers on a board of directors (Moore & Whitt 2000). Finally, volunteering for more important positions, such as on a board of directors, may send a stronger signal of one's skills and ability to future employers (Moore & Whitt 2000).

Literature Review

Few studies focus specifically, as we seek to do, on a link between volunteer work and a quantifiable reduced risk of higher rates of unemployment for the general population (Spera et al. 2015).

There are studies such as (Antoni 2009; Hirst 2001) that suggest a link between volunteer work and employment but these rely on a subjective measure of whether volunteers attribute their employment to their volunteer work. Then there is (Konstam et al. 2015), which finds that volunteers have a reduced risk of long-term unemployment, but this study focuses exclusively on a small (n=265) sample of young adults. Similarly, a comparative study by (2009) finds that volunteer work increases re-employment chances only for British—and not German—males 25 years of age. In Corden's (2002) review of the literature on employment outcome specifically for individuals who volunteered while receiving disability benefits in the United Kingdom and finds a positive employability benefit of volunteering.

One of the most relevant general population studies is a recent journal article by Spera et al. (2015) that makes use of a large representative US panel survey. They find that, controlling for several relevant individual characteristics, volunteers have an astonishing 27 % higher likelihood of being employed a year after going out of work when compared to non-volunteers (Spera et al. 2015). Another relevant general population study was performed by Paine et al. on a large UK panel data sample. This study shows that performing volunteer work is weakly associated with employability—measured as reemployment and job retention—but only for individuals who volunteer on a moderate monthly basis (Paine et al. 2013b). The same study shows mixed results for interaction effects of age (ibid.). Likewise, a recent (non-peer-reviewed) report by Jorgensen finds that a moderate amount of volunteering (20-99 hours in a year) had a positive effect on chances of reemployment for unemployed individuals (Jorgensen 2013).

The studies included in this literature review so-far provide important insights into the links between volunteering and employability; however, they do not fully accommodate for the very likely omitted variable bias issues that arise from the fact that volunteers must be assumed to be a select group of high resource individuals (Paine et al. 2013a; Spera et al. 2015; Wilson 2000). This argument is backed up empirically by a recent non-peer-reviewed report based on British, German, and Swiss data written by (2015). These authors use a fixed effects panel data model to show that controlling for time-invariant omitted variables removes any positive effect of volunteer work on job retention and reemployment (ibid.).

In summary, one must conclude that even though the majority of previous studies are not able to refute the link between volunteer work and employability, the assumed causal mechanism behind this link is still empirically undetermined due to methodological shortcomings.

Selection Issues

We will now expand further on the selection issue and why it is a concern for this research topic. Managers of voluntary and nonprofit organizations are—just like regular employers—interested in high-skilled and highly motivated workers to take on productive roles within their organization regardless of whether these positions are paid or not. Furthermore, individuals who are highly skilled, socially well connected and highly motivated are more likely to feel eligible to take on a volunteer position and more likely to come across an opportunity to do so (Musick & Wilson 2008; Wilson 2012; Wilson & Musick 1997). This undoubtedly results in severe selection bias for studies like this one since individuals who take up volunteer work are the exact individuals who are likely to already have high levels of employability (Ruiter & De Graaf 2009; Spera et al. 2013). In other words, employability becomes, at least in part, the cause of volunteer work rather than the effect of it.

Some of this selection bias can be eliminated by control variables, which is what previous studies have done. However, it is doubtful that all factors positively affecting both propensity to volunteer and employability can be readily accounted for (Spera et al. 2015). Leaving out such key variables induces omitted variable bias (Wooldridge 2012), which will consequently lead to an overestimation of the effect of volunteering on employability. In the present study, we seek to solve the omitted variable issue with a combination of three approaches: exceptionally high-quality control variables (on both individuals and their parents), lagged dependent variables, and instrumental variable regression. The details and merits of these approaches will be explained in the following data and methodology sections.

Data

This study makes use of two data sources: (1) a representative survey which is linked to (2) administrative registers at Statistics Denmark.

The survey data comes from the 2012 high-quality Danish Volunteer Survey (Fridberg 2014). The survey is a large representative sample ($n=2,809$) of individuals living in Denmark, between the ages of 16 and 85. Data collection was conducted primarily as phone interviews with the option of a face-to-face interview. The response rate is 67 %.

We focus on a smaller subset from the survey, consisting of individuals who are 21 year or older and thus likely to take active part in the labor market during the main time frame of the study—from 2013 to end 2015. This restriction provides us with a subsample of ($n=1,796$).

Because survey respondents were randomly chosen from the Danish Civil Registration System³ we are able to link them with administrative registers on unemployment and education. These administrative registries contain accurate information on week-to-week unemployment as well as the educational background for all individuals in our survey sample. In addition, we have access to administrative register data for parents to survey participants.

Dependent Variable

Unemployment (register). We define unemployment as a period of time in which an individual without paid work is actively seeking paid work (ILO 1982). Periods where individuals are completely outside of the labor market due to education, retirement, or illness are therefore disregarded.

Data on unemployment is retrieved from the DREAM administrative register, which combines data from the Ministry of Employment, Ministry of Education, the Civil

³ The Civil Registration System is an administrative register which contains information on all individuals permanently residing in Denmark. The system links all administrative register entries of an individual to a unique personal identification number which may be used to identify the same individual across administrative registries.

Registration System, and the Tax Agency. The administrative register contains highly detailed week-to-week information on every individual residing in Denmark.

The dependent variable is coded as the ratio of weeks in unemployment versus weeks not in unemployment, while disregarding weeks outside of the labor market, for the years 2013, 2014, and 2015. The dependent variable is distributed so that 23.3 % of individuals experience some amount of unemployment in the time period. Individuals who do experience unemployment do so for an average of 37 % of the period (i.e. 58 out of 157 weeks).

We focus on both risk and rate of unemployment. However, it should be acknowledged that simply becoming unemployed is less of an indicator of low employability than is a large rate of unemployment. This is because many individuals will become unemployed for a few weeks if they are simply switching between jobs, whereas individuals with low employability will stay in unemployment for larger amounts of time when they are between jobs.

Variables of Interest

Volunteer work (survey). Respondents have indicated whether they have actively performed volunteer work for a formal organization during 2012. The item was repeated for 14 different volunteer domains, which correspond to the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (ICNPO) (Salamon et al. 2003). Repeating this question in connection with specific volunteer domains—and associated examples of volunteer work within each domain—was intended to reduce recall bias and misunderstanding of what volunteer work entails (Fridberg & Henriksen 2014).

Amount of volunteer work (survey). Respondents who indicated that they had volunteered were asked to estimate how many hours they had spent doing so throughout the year. The variable was coded as an ordinal variable in four levels: (1) 1-50 hours (2) 51-100 hours (3) 101-300 hours (4) 301+ hours.

Volunteering on a board of directors (survey). Respondents who had volunteered were asked to indicate what type of volunteer task they had performed. One option was volunteering on a board of directors. Using this variable, we distinguish between two types of volunteers: (1) volunteering on a board of directors of at least one organization, and (2) volunteering, but not on a board of directors of any organizations.

Instrumental Variables

Instrumental variables (IVs) are variables that are closely related to the endogenous variable of interest, which in this case is whether one volunteers, but not the dependent variable, rate of unemployment. Instrumental variables are applied in order to remove endogenous variance from the variable of interest (Angrist & Krueger 2001). This study utilizes two instrumental variables, which we now present and subsequently justify the merits of.

Tradition of volunteering in the family (survey). The respondent has indicated to what degree the following statement is true *“If you think back at your childhood, would you say that there has been a tradition of volunteering in your family?”*, with the possible answers: *not at all, to a lesser degree, to some degree, and to a high degree.*

Family member volunteers (survey). The respondent also indicated whether the following statement was true *“Is there someone in your family who volunteers?”*, which is answered on a yes/no binary scale.

These IVs were chosen since numerous studies show that having family members volunteer provide individuals with volunteering role models and may also serve as gateways to nonprofit organizations. Both of these mechanisms positively influence our own propensity to volunteer throughout our lifetime (Bekkers 2007; Perks & Konecny 2015; Quaranta & Sani 2016; van Goethem et al. 2014).

One may object that these instruments may not be truly exogenous since individuals from high-resource backgrounds are more likely to have volunteers in their family. In order to accommodate for this, we control for the education of parents.

Controls

Lagged unemployment (register) was calculated using the same method as the dependent variable but for the years 2009, 2010, and 2011. We also coded an additional variable indicating rate of unemployment in 2012. The latter variable serves as a particular LDV, which furthermore captures the simultaneity effect induced by the fact that volunteer work was performed during 2012.

Education (register) is the core component of human capital, since it supplies individuals with essential productive skills (Schultz 1961). Higher levels of education furthermore carries strong signaling value to potential employers (Spence 1973). Due to the importance of education as a control, it adds value to this study that we are able to obtain an exact measure of education from administrative registers that are compiled from data from Danish educational institutions, the Ministry of Education, and other relevant institutions.

In practice, education is measured as the nominal length in full years from the 1st grade to the highest educational degree successfully earned.

Parents’ education (register) is included in order to proxy the resources that individuals may harbor due to their upbringing. Each parent’s education is measured in the same manner as their adult children’s. They are then combined into a single average measure of both parents’ level of education.

Work experience (register) is calculated using administrative register data on mandatory payment of pension by employers during months of employment.

Age (survey) is calculated as full years from year of birth from the time of the survey.

Male (survey) indicates whether the respondent is male.

Children (survey) is a binary variable that measures whether the respondent has children residing in the home.

Health (survey) is a self-reported ordinal 4-point scale on which the respondent assesses their level of health.

Immigrant status (register) is a dummy variable, which indicates whether the respondent is an immigrant to Denmark or descendent from immigrants to Denmark.

Rural (survey) measures whether the individual resides in a rural area.

Married (survey) indicates whether the respondent is married or living in a civil union.

Methodology

The dependent variable (y) for this study is the rate of unemployment from 2013 to 2015. The dependent variable is semi-continuous (or limited) and can therefore be regarded as a combination a categorical variable (unemployment experienced or not: $y=0$ or $y>0$) and a continuous variable (if any unemployment is experienced, how much: $y>0$) (Tobin 1958; Wooldridge 2010).

A double-hurdle model, such as Cragg's model, is in this case an appropriate estimation technique due to the fact that Cragg's model takes the semi-continuous nature of the dependent variable into account. To do so, Cragg's model *first* estimates the probability of becoming unemployed and *then* the rate of unemployment for individuals who do become unemployed (Cragg 1971; Wooldridge 2010).

In Cragg's model, the selection equation is a probit model which estimates the probability of $y>0$. The selection equation can be written generically as:

$$Pr(y > 0|x) = \Phi(x_1\beta_1 + u_1),$$

where $Pr()$ denotes probability and $\Phi()$ is the cumulative standard normal distribution function.

The regression equation, is an OLS model of the generic form:

$$y = x_2\beta_2 + u_2, y > 0$$

Since this model is estimated in two parts, the independent variables in the selection and interest equations are not required to have any uniform impact on the dependent variable. This is an advantage of this model compared to the alternative Tobit-model (Cragg 1971).

In order to control for omitted variables, we use two lagged dependent variables (LDVs): the rate of unemployment in 2009-2011 and 2012. Because the dependent variable in previous years can be assumed to depend on the same control variables as the current dependent variable, an LDV is a good proxy for omitted controls (Angrist & Pischke 2008; Wooldridge 2010; 2012). However, since the lagged depended variable

is correlated with the error term by construction, it may be biased, leading to other parameters in the model being biased as well (Angrist & Pischke 2008). Thus, some care must be exercised when using lagged depended variables to control for omitted variables—which is why we report coefficients from models both with and without the LDVs added.

We furthermore apply instrumental variable regression. This approach uses a variable that, by assumption, predicts the variable of interest (whether one volunteers) but not the outcome of interest (unemployment). By assumption, the instrument generates variation in the independent variable of interest that is independent of the omitted variables because it is unrelated to the outcome of interest. The IV technique then extracts the variation in the independent variable that is independent of the omitted variables and uses this variation to predict the outcome of interest. This allows a causal interpretation of the effect estimated by the IV methods. Of course, the causal interpretation hinges on how plausible the assumption that the instrument does not have a direct effect on the outcome variable over and above through the variable of interest is (Angrist & Krueger 2001; Wooldridge 2010).

To accommodate the instrumental variable approach, Cragg's model must be rewritten. The selection equation now takes the form of an instrumental variable probit regression, where the first stage is an OLS model of the generic form:

$$y_2 = x_1' \gamma_1 + x_2' \gamma_2 + e,$$

where y_2 is the endogenous variable of interest (volunteer work), x_1 are the exogenous control variables, and x_2 is the instrumental variable, which is excluded from the second stage equation, γ are the regression coefficients, e is the error term, and y_1 is the dependent variable (rate of unemployment). The second stage can be written:

$$Pr(y_1 > 0|x) = \phi(\hat{y}_2' \beta_1 + x_1' \beta_2 + u),$$

where \hat{y}_2 is the estimated previously endogenous variable of interest.

Similarly, the IV version of the regression equation of Cragg's model can be generically written as:

$$y_2 = x_1' \gamma_1 + x_2' \gamma_2 + e, y_1 > 0,$$

where $y_1 > 0$ restricts the analysis to positive values of the dependent variable, rate of unemployment.

The second stage of the regression equation can be written as:

$$y_1 = \hat{y}_2' \beta_1 + x_1' \beta_2 + u, y_1 > 0.$$

Results

In the following results section, we provide Cragg's model estimations of the effect of volunteer work on the probability of experiencing unemployment ($y=0$ or $y>0$) and the rate of unemployment experienced, given that one experiences unemployment ($y \mid y>0$). We utilize a stepwise approach in which we first include the variable of interest, then controls, and finally the LDVs.

This stepwise analysis is furthermore repeated with three different variables of interest: (1) any volunteer work performed during 2012, (2) time spent performing volunteer work during 2012, and (3) whether volunteer work in 2012 was performed on or off a board of directors.

Past volunteering is included in each step of the models (except for the IV-regression). Therefore, the reference category becomes individuals who have not volunteered in 2012 nor previously in their lifetime. This ensures that the reference category becomes individuals who may not make use of previous volunteer work to benefit their employability. Furthermore, controlling for past volunteer work is done, since we do not know whether a non-volunteer in 2012 might pick up volunteer work during 2013-2015. However, it is much less likely that lifelong non-volunteers may do so.

Volunteer work. Table 1 presents the results from a Cragg's model estimation of rate of unemployment with the variable of interest being whether volunteer work was performed in 2012.

Table 1. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with volunteer work as variable of interest

	Selection	Regression	Selection	Regression	Selection	Regression
	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)
Volunteer	-0.119 (0.073)	-0.076** (0.034)	0.102 (0.080)	-0.025 (0.033)	0.124 (0.088)	-0.028 (0.030)
Former volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	0.004 (0.045)	-0.054 (0.095)	0.008 (0.041)	-0.038 (0.106)	0.001 (0.039)
Never volunteered (ref.)						
Controls	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
n	1796	417	1796	417	1796	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

The results in table 1 show no statistically significant reduced risk of *experiencing unemployment* for volunteers. This result remains statistically insignificant throughout all steps of the model.

Table 1 also shows no significant effect of volunteer work for *the rate of unemployment experienced* for individuals who experienced some unemployment. There is a significant effect in the first step of the model but it seems that simply adjusting for selection into volunteer work with control variables completely removes the effect—and adding LDVs do not change this result.

IV regression of the effect of volunteer work. To further test the robustness of our finding—that volunteer work does not decrease risk nor rate of unemployment—we use an instrumental variable approach (Angrist & Krueger 2001).

Two instruments were chosen: tradition of volunteering in the family and whether a family member is currently volunteering. For the just identified model, we use tradition of volunteering and for the over-identified model, we use both instruments.

An F-test is used to test the strength of the instruments in the first-stage regression. A rule of thumb for determining an acceptable instruments is that they should be able to provide an F-value greater than 10 (Staiger & Stock 1994). For the just identified first-stage equation, the F-test equals 68.6, whereas the F-test for the over-identified model equals 43.9.

The reason for the lower F-test in the over-identified model is due to the second instrument (whether a family member is currently volunteering) is comparatively weak. In other words, it has a limited impact on whether the person in the study is volunteering over and above that implied by the first instrument, whether there is a tradition in the family for volunteering. However, we show both the just identified and the over-identified estimate to illustrate the robustness of our IV regression results, when different instruments are used.

Table 2. Instrumental variable two-stage probit and least square regression

	Just identified		Overidentified	
	Selection	Regression	Selection	Regression
	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)
Volunteer	0.079 (0.402)	0.074 (0.107)	-0.194 (0.383)	0.059 (0.099)
<i>Not volunteered (ref.)</i>				
Controls	YES	YES	YES	YES
LDV	YES	YES	YES	YES
n	1796	417	1796	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05. ***p<0.01)

The results from just identified and over-identified instrumental variable regression models in table 2 both confirm a null-effect of volunteer work on risk and rate of unemployment.

So far, we have not been able to show any significant effect of volunteer work on employability using a simple binary measure of volunteer work. However, we acknowledge that the volunteering variable may have a different treatment intensity, dependent upon at least two factors: (1) the time devoted to volunteer work and (2) the task performed as a volunteer. We therefore expand our model in order to determine whether volunteering does indeed have a null effect on employability, even when these two aspects of volunteer work are taken into account.

Time investment. In table 2, we provide the results of a Cragg's model estimation of rate of unemployment, given different annual amounts of time spent volunteering.

Table 3. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with yearly time spent on volunteer work as variable of interest

	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)
Volunteer:						
1-50 hours	-0.136 (0.088)	-0.105** (0.041)	0.088 (0.096)	-0.053 (0.040)	0.058 (0.106)	-0.071** (0.036)
51-100 hours	-0.009 (0.131)	-0.059 (0.053)	0.279** (0.139)	0.017 (0.047)	0.346** (0.148)	0.025 (0.049)
101-300 hours	-0.211 (0.136)	-0.076 (0.058)	0.027 (0.145)	-0.003 (0.057)	0.159 (0.152)	0.031 (0.054)
301+ hours	-0.056 (0.209)	0.087 (0.088)	-0.089 (0.237)	0.004 (0.080)	-0.127 (0.270)	0.004 (0.065)
Former volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	0.004 (0.045)	-0.054 (0.095)	0.008 (0.041)	-0.037 (0.106)	0.001 (0.039)
<i>Never volunteered (ref.)</i>						
Controls	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
n	1796	417	1796	417	1796	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

Overall, table 2 shows that increasing the time investment in volunteer work does *not* carry positive employability benefits.

In fact, we find that moderate time spent on volunteering 51-100 hours per year significantly increases the risk of experiencing unemployment. Looking further into this result, we find that this effect is only statistically significant for individuals who were continuously employed throughout all of 2012⁴. This suggests that individuals who devote more time to volunteer work during paid employment may put themselves at risk of lessening their employability, possibly since they are dividing their time and energy between paid and unpaid work.

When looking at the rate of unemployment experienced (for individuals who experience unemployment) we recover a barely significant effect of performing a very small amount of volunteer work (1-50 hours per year). However, as individuals increase the time they spend on volunteer work, this effect drops to zero. A likely interpretation of this result is that as one increases the time spent on volunteer work, one has less time available to engage in other important time and energy consuming ways of increasing one's employability. Those activities could be writing numerous and customized résumés and job applications, online and physical social networking, or career coaching (Smith 2010).

Type of volunteer work. In table 3, we supply the results from Cragg's model estimation with the variables of interest being whether one volunteers on a board of directors for at least one organization or entirely off a board of directors.

⁴ The analysis is available from the authors upon request.

Table 4. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with volunteer work on and off a board as variable of interest

	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)
Volunteer:						
Off a board	-0.016 (0.093)	-0.032 (0.043)	0.133 (0.101)	-0.004 (0.041)	0.150 (0.109)	-0.007 (0.037)
On a board	-0.210** (0.090)	-0.121*** (0.038)	0.073 (0.098)	-0.050 (0.037)	0.102 (0.104)	-0.053 (0.036)
Former volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	0.004 (0.045)	-0.054 (0.094)	0.007 (0.041)	-0.038 (0.105)	0.001 (0.039)
<i>Never volunteered (ref.)</i>						
Controls	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
n	1796	417	1796	417	1796	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

We do not find any statistically significant benefit of performing volunteer work on a board of directors on whether individuals experience unemployment nor on the rate of unemployment experienced. However, we do find that any effect of volunteer work on reduced rate of unemployment for individuals who experience unemployment, albeit statistically insignificant, is almost entirely located within the group of volunteers on a board of directors.

Time and type of volunteer work. Due to the finding that both low time investments in volunteer work and volunteering on a board of directors seems to isolate the effect of volunteer work on employability, we perform a final regression with an interaction between the two variables, the result of which is provided in table 5.

Table 5. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with yearly time spent on volunteer work off and on a board as variable of interest

	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)
Volunteer off a board:						
1-50 hours	-0.025 (0.111)	-0.070 (0.053)	0.145 (0.121)	-0.030 (0.052)	0.145 (0.129)	-0.036 (0.045)
51-100 hours	0.095 (0.191)	-0.044 (0.073)	0.324 (0.200)	-0.000 (0.066)	0.321 (0.220)	0.001 (0.070)
101-300 hours	-0.255 (0.226)	0.028 (0.100)	-0.165 (0.257)	0.070 (0.102)	0.065 (0.252)	0.124 (0.095)
301+ hours	0.276 (0.316)	0.209* (0.112)	0.092 (0.338)	0.096 (0.074)	-0.143 (0.429)	0.045 (0.061)
Volunteer on a board:						
1-50 hours	-0.261** (0.119)	-0.155*** (0.049)	0.020 (0.128)	-0.088* (0.046)	-0.049 (0.135)	-0.124*** (0.045)
51-100 hours	-0.086 (0.169)	-0.071 (0.069)	0.245 (0.185)	0.029 (0.058)	0.362* (0.188)	0.045 (0.061)
101-300 hours	-0.188 (0.163)	-0.125* (0.064)	0.120 (0.174)	-0.040 (0.061)	0.206 (0.183)	-0.015 (0.059)
301+ hours	-0.291 (0.279)	-0.060 (0.101)	-0.232 (0.303)	-0.105 (0.134)	-0.115 (0.273)	-0.043 (0.118)
Former volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	0.004 (0.045)	-0.054 (0.094)	0.007 (0.042)	-0.037 (0.105)	0.000 (0.039)
<i>Never volunteered (ref.)</i>						
Controls	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
n	1796	417	1796	417	1796	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

The interaction reveals that the only significant and positive effect of volunteer work for employability is found for volunteers who are on a board of directors *and* spend less than 50 hours a year on this task.

We confirm that increasing the time spent on volunteer work, both off and on a board of directors does not have a positive effect on employability. Increasing time spent

may actually increase the risk of experiencing unemployment—which is the case for volunteers on a board of directors who volunteer for 51-100 hours.

Discussion

The belief that volunteer work benefits employability has become self-evident among volunteer organizations, volunteers, and in public policy. Nonprofit organizations are advertising to potential volunteers on the basis that providing their organizations with unpaid work is a wise investment in one's future employment chances. Many volunteers, especially young volunteers, are citing employability as one of the main reasons for why they are spending their free time on volunteer work (Handy et al. 2010). And volunteers generally have strong faith in the effectiveness of volunteer work, when it comes to employability (Hirst 2001). Across Europe, public policies are being implemented in order to harvest the assumed employability benefits of volunteering. In the Netherlands, for instance, volunteer work has become an alternative to traditional activation schemes for low-skilled and long-term unemployed individuals through so-called “workfare” programs (Kampen et al. 2013). In Denmark, legislation was changed in 2015 order to allow individuals on unemployment benefits to perform larger amounts of volunteer work—from 4 to 15 hours per week (Lov nr. 225).

However, very few studies have been conducted on the assumption that volunteer work does indeed influence employability and the few that have, suffer from methodological limitations that inhibit their ability to determine cause and effect (Spera et al. 2015). The fact that this study, which is extensively focused on determining cause and effect, does not support the link between volunteer work and employability should serve as a word of warning for organizations, volunteers, and policy makers: The link between volunteer work and unemployment is not clear and as one spends free time and energy on volunteer work, one may in actuality be using resources that may have been better spent on other methods for enhancing ones employability: education and job training (Groot & De Brink 2000) or performing well in one's paid job.

Limitations

This study is concerned with whether volunteer work benefits employability for the general population of individuals on the labor market. We have therefore not looked into whether volunteer work benefits specific demographic subpopulations. It may for instance be that volunteer work is only beneficial for young individuals who are just entering the labor market (Konstam et al. 2015), those who are experiencing physical disabilities (Corden 2002), or those who perform volunteer work during their spell of unemployment (Spera et al. 2015).

Similarly, we have not looked into whether intentions for volunteering matter. It may be that volunteer work is only beneficial for those individuals who are using volunteer work with the intent of benefiting from it. In other words, individuals with

clear instrumental motives as the foundation for their decision to volunteer (Handy et al. 2010). These volunteers may pick and choose volunteer tasks and organizations that are directly relevant to their line of employment.

The present study therefore does not claim that volunteer work cannot under any circumstances and for no groups of individuals benefit employability—and there are certainly studies that imply that it can (Corden 2002; Konstam et al. 2015; Spera et al. 2015). However, we are confidently able to say that for the general individual on the labor market, this study does not find support for the assumption that volunteer work generally benefits employability.

Conclusion

In this study, we tested (1) whether volunteers were less likely to experience unemployment and (2) whether volunteers who *did* experience unemployment did so at a lower rate than non-volunteers. On both accounts, the findings from this study do *not* show any statistically significant gain in employability for the typical volunteer.

When we examined the type and intensity of volunteer work more closely, we were furthermore able to determine that any effect of volunteer work on employability, albeit, statistically insignificant disappeared completely when volunteer work was performed for more than 50 hours a year or off a board of directors. This result only further underlines the illusiveness of employability benefits for the typical volunteer.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with volunteer work as variable of interest

	Selection		Selection		Regression		Regression	
	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	
Variables of interest:								
Volunteer	-0.119 (0.073)	0.102 (0.080)	0.124 (0.088)	-0.076** (0.034)	-0.025 (0.033)	-0.028 (0.030)		
Past volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	-0.054 (0.095)	-0.038 (0.106)	0.004 (0.045)	0.008 (0.041)	0.001 (0.039)		
Never volunteered (ref.)								
Controls:								
Education		-0.073*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.018)		-0.020*** (0.006)	-0.016*** (0.006)		
Parents' edu.		-0.030** (0.014)	-0.006 (0.016)		-0.007 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.005)		
Experience		-0.068*** (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.015)		-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.015*** (0.006)		
Experience sq.		0.001*** (0.000)	0.001 (0.000)		0.000*** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)		
Health		-0.242*** (0.041)	-0.148*** (0.047)		-0.066*** (0.015)	-0.055*** (0.015)		
Rural		0.092 (0.083)	0.089 (0.091)		-0.045 (0.034)	-0.043 (0.031)		
Gender		-0.064 (0.071)	-0.061 (0.078)		-0.025 (0.029)	-0.020 (0.028)		
Children		-0.160** (0.081)	-0.132 (0.091)		0.016 (0.033)	-0.003 (0.031)		
Married		-0.250*** (0.083)	-0.043 (0.094)		-0.121*** (0.037)	-0.056 (0.035)		
Immigrant		0.109 (0.146)	0.070 (0.163)		0.026 (0.044)	0.038 (0.042)		
Age		0.003 (0.005)	-0.012** (0.006)		0.010*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)		
LDVs:								
Unemp. 09-11			0.832*** (0.238)			0.042 (0.064)		
Unemp. 12			2.705*** (0.231)			0.263*** (0.045)		
Constant	-0.653*** (0.050)	2.316*** (0.341)	1.246*** (0.387)	0.396*** (0.024)	0.787*** (0.125)	0.624*** (0.126)		
Controls	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES		
LDV	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES		
n	1796	1796	1796	417	417	417		

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

Appendix 2. Instrumental variable two-stage probit and least square regression

	Just identified						Overidentified			
	Selection		Regression		Selection		Regression			
	First β (se)	Second β (se)	First β (se)	Second β (se)	First β (se)	Second β (se)	First β (se)	Second β (se)	First β (se)	Second β (se)
Variables of interest:										
Volunteer		0.079 (0.402)		0.074 (0.107)		-0.194 (0.383)		0.059 (0.099)		
<i>Not volunteered (ref.)</i>										
Controls:										
Education	0.021*** (0.005)	-0.053*** (0.020)	0.024** (0.010)	-0.019*** (0.006)	0.021*** (0.005)	-0.045** (0.020)	0.024** (0.010)	-0.018*** (0.006)		
Parents' edu.	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.016)	0.011 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.000 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.016)	0.012 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.005)		
Experience	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.040*** (0.015)	0.003 (0.009)	-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.040*** (0.014)	0.002 (0.009)	-0.015*** (0.005)		
Experience sq.	-0.000 (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)		
Health	0.048*** (0.013)	-0.145*** (0.052)	0.047** (0.023)	-0.060*** (0.015)	0.047*** (0.013)	-0.130** (0.053)	0.048** (0.023)	-0.060*** (0.015)		
Rural	0.020 (0.026)	0.092 (0.091)	-0.056 (0.053)	-0.037 (0.032)	0.018 (0.026)	0.097 (0.090)	-0.056 (0.053)	-0.038 (0.032)		
Gender	0.037* (0.022)	-0.059 (0.079)	-0.006 (0.045)	-0.022 (0.027)	0.037* (0.022)	-0.047 (0.079)	-0.004 (0.045)	-0.022 (0.027)		
Children	0.072*** (0.025)	-0.127 (0.094)	0.134*** (0.051)	-0.019 (0.034)	0.069*** (0.025)	-0.106 (0.094)	0.134*** (0.051)	-0.017 (0.033)		
Married	0.022 (0.026)	-0.040 (0.095)	-0.024 (0.058)	-0.055 (0.035)	0.020 (0.026)	-0.030 (0.094)	-0.030 (0.058)	-0.055 (0.035)		
Immigrant	-0.053 (0.047)	0.069 (0.167)	-0.042 (0.081)	0.047 (0.043)	-0.038 (0.046)	0.051 (0.166)	-0.033 (0.080)	0.046 (0.043)		
Age	0.005*** (0.002)	-0.012** (0.006)	0.006* (0.003)	0.005** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	-0.011* (0.006)	0.006* (0.003)	0.005** (0.002)		
IVs:										
Tradition of vol.										
Family member vol.	0.083*** (0.010)		0.113*** (0.020)		0.069*** (0.011)		0.092*** (0.022)			
					0.096*** (0.024)		0.103** (0.049)			
LDVs:										
Unemp. 09-11	-0.020 (0.069)	0.833*** (0.280)	0.023 (0.090)	0.042 (0.063)	-0.019 (0.069)	0.816*** (0.278)	0.019 (0.090)	0.042 (0.063)		
Unemp. 12	0.040 (0.056)	2.705*** (0.266)	0.002 (0.068)	0.263*** (0.045)	0.044 (0.056)	2.679*** (0.272)	0.002 (0.067)	0.263*** (0.045)		
Constant	-0.392*** (0.107)	1.215*** (0.417)	-0.637*** (0.203)	0.698*** (0.139)	-0.435*** (0.106)	1.085*** (0.421)	-0.697*** (0.204)	0.688*** (0.137)		
n	1796	1796	417	417	1796	1796	417	417		

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

Appendix 3. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with yearly time spent on volunteer work as variable of interest

	Selection			Regression		
	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)
Variables of interest:						
1-50 hours	-0.136 (0.088)	0.088 (0.096)	0.058 (0.106)	-0.105** (0.041)	-0.053 (0.040)	-0.071** (0.036)
51-100 hours	-0.009 (0.131)	0.279** (0.139)	0.346** (0.148)	-0.059 (0.053)	0.017 (0.047)	0.025 (0.049)
101-300 hours	-0.211 (0.136)	0.027 (0.145)	0.159 (0.152)	-0.076 (0.058)	-0.003 (0.057)	0.031 (0.054)
301+ hours	-0.056 (0.209)	-0.089 (0.237)	-0.127 (0.270)	0.087 (0.088)	0.004 (0.080)	0.004 (0.065)
Past volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	-0.054 (0.095)	-0.037 (0.106)	0.004 (0.045)	0.008 (0.041)	0.001 (0.039)
<i>Never volunteered (ref.)</i>						
Controls:						
Education		-0.073*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.018)		-0.020*** (0.006)	-0.015** (0.006)
Parents' edu.		-0.030** (0.014)	-0.007 (0.016)		-0.008 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.005)
Experience		-0.069*** (0.013)	-0.041*** (0.015)		-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.014** (0.006)
Experience sq.		0.001*** (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)		0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
Health		-0.246*** (0.041)	-0.153*** (0.047)		-0.067*** (0.015)	-0.056*** (0.015)
Rural		0.087 (0.083)	0.081 (0.091)		-0.046 (0.034)	-0.043 (0.031)
Gender		-0.056 (0.071)	-0.056 (0.078)		-0.025 (0.029)	-0.022 (0.028)
Children		-0.161** (0.081)	-0.134 (0.091)		0.015 (0.033)	-0.006 (0.031)
Married		-0.253*** (0.083)	-0.046 (0.094)		-0.122*** (0.037)	-0.054 (0.036)
Immigrant		0.110 (0.147)	0.066 (0.164)		0.030 (0.045)	0.043 (0.043)
Age		0.003 (0.005)	-0.012** (0.006)		0.010*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)
LDVs:						
Unemp. 09-11			0.829*** (0.238)			0.043 (0.064)
Unemp. 12			2.719*** (0.231)			0.271*** (0.045)
Constant	-0.653*** (0.050)	2.340*** (0.342)	1.289*** (0.388)	0.396*** (0.024)	0.792*** (0.126)	0.630*** (0.127)
Controls	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
n	1796	1796	1796	417	417	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

Appendix 4. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with volunteer work on and off a board of directors as variable of interest

	Selection			Regression		
	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)
Variables of interest:						
Volunteer off a board	-0.016 (0.093)	0.133 (0.101)	0.150 (0.109)	-0.032 (0.043)	-0.004 (0.041)	-0.007 (0.037)
Volunteer on a board	-0.210** (0.090)	0.073 (0.098)	0.102 (0.104)	-0.121*** (0.038)	-0.050 (0.037)	-0.053 (0.036)
Former volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	-0.054 (0.094)	-0.038 (0.105)	0.004 (0.045)	0.007 (0.041)	0.001 (0.039)
<i>Never volunteered (ref.)</i>						
Controls:						
Education		-0.073*** (0.016)	-0.054*** (0.017)		-0.020*** (0.006)	-0.016*** (0.006)
Parents' edu.		-0.030** (0.015)	-0.006 (0.016)		-0.007 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.005)
Experience		-0.068*** (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.015)		-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.015*** (0.006)
Experience sq.		0.001*** (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)		0.000*** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)
Health		-0.242*** (0.041)	-0.148*** (0.048)		-0.066*** (0.015)	-0.055*** (0.015)
Rural		0.094 (0.082)	0.091 (0.091)		-0.044 (0.034)	-0.042 (0.032)
Gender		-0.066 (0.071)	-0.062 (0.077)		-0.026 (0.029)	-0.022 (0.028)
Children		-0.158** (0.081)	-0.131 (0.091)		0.019 (0.033)	-0.000 (0.031)
Married		-0.248*** (0.082)	-0.041 (0.094)		-0.119*** (0.037)	-0.054 (0.036)
Immigrant		0.109 (0.147)	0.070 (0.166)		0.028 (0.043)	0.040 (0.041)
Age		0.002 (0.005)	-0.012** (0.006)		0.010*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)
LDVs:						
Unemp. 09-11			0.832*** (0.280)			0.042 (0.063)
Unemp. 12			2.706*** (0.265)			0.263*** (0.045)
Constant	-0.653*** (0.050)	2.310*** (0.329)	1.240*** (0.384)	0.396*** (0.024)	0.783*** (0.125)	0.620*** (0.126)
Controls	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
n	1796	1796	1796	417	417	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

Appendix 5. Cragg's estimation of rate of unemployment with yearly time spent on volunteer work on and off a board as variable of interest

	Selection			Regression		
	Selection β (se)	Selection β (se)	Selection β (se)	Regression β (se)	Regression β (se)	Regression β (se)
Variables of interest:						
Volunteer off a board:						
1-50 hours	-0.025 (0.111)	0.145 (0.121)	0.145 (0.129)	-0.070 (0.053)	-0.030 (0.052)	-0.036 (0.045)
51-100 hours	0.095 (0.191)	0.324 (0.200)	0.321 (0.220)	-0.044 (0.073)	-0.000 (0.066)	0.001 (0.070)
101-300 hours	-0.255 (0.226)	-0.165 (0.257)	0.065 (0.252)	0.028 (0.100)	0.070 (0.102)	0.124 (0.095)
301+ hours	0.276 (0.316)	0.092 (0.338)	-0.143 (0.429)	0.209* (0.112)	0.096 (0.074)	0.045 (0.061)
Volunteer on a board:						
1-50 hours	-0.261** (0.119)	0.020 (0.128)	-0.049 (0.135)	-0.155*** (0.049)	-0.088* (0.046)	-0.124*** (0.045)
51-100 hours	-0.086 (0.169)	0.245 (0.185)	0.362* (0.188)	-0.071 (0.069)	0.029 (0.058)	0.045 (0.061)
101-300 hours	-0.188 (0.163)	0.120 (0.174)	0.206 (0.183)	-0.125* (0.064)	-0.040 (0.061)	-0.015 (0.059)
301+ hours	-0.291 (0.279)	-0.232 (0.303)	-0.115 (0.273)	-0.060 (0.101)	-0.105 (0.134)	-0.043 (0.118)
Former volunteer	-0.166* (0.088)	-0.054 (0.094)	-0.037 (0.105)	0.004 (0.045)	0.007 (0.042)	0.000 (0.039)
<i>Never volunteered (ref.)</i>						
Controls:						
Education	-0.072*** (0.016)	-0.055*** (0.018)		-0.020*** (0.006)	-0.015** (0.006)	
Parents' edu.	-0.030** (0.015)	-0.007 (0.016)		-0.007 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.005)	
Experience	-0.069*** (0.013)	-0.040*** (0.015)		-0.022*** (0.006)	-0.014*** (0.006)	
Experience sq.	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)		0.000** (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	
Health	-0.247*** (0.041)	-0.153*** (0.048)		-0.067*** (0.015)	-0.055*** (0.015)	
Rural	0.087 (0.082)	0.079 (0.091)		-0.045 (0.035)	-0.042 (0.032)	
Gender	-0.055 (0.071)	-0.057 (0.078)		-0.025 (0.029)	-0.023 (0.028)	
Children	-0.161** (0.081)	-0.133 (0.091)		0.019 (0.034)	-0.001 (0.031)	
Married	-0.250*** (0.083)	-0.040 (0.094)		-0.122*** (0.038)	-0.052 (0.037)	
Immigrant	0.112 (0.147)	0.069 (0.167)		0.032 (0.044)	0.046 (0.041)	
Age	0.003 (0.005)	-0.012** (0.006)		0.010*** (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	
LDVs:						
Unemp. 09-11			0.834*** (0.281)			0.042 (0.064)
Unemp. 12			2.719*** (0.267)			0.274*** (0.045)
Constant	-0.653*** (0.050)	2.334*** (0.330)	1.290*** (0.385)	0.396*** (0.024)	0.781*** (0.129)	0.627*** (0.128)
Controls	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
LDV	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
n	1796	1796	1796	417	417	417

(*p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01)

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Artikel 5

Whether and How Much to Give: Uncovering the Contrasting Determinants of the Decisions of Whether and How Much to Give to Charity with Two-Stage Alternatives to the Prevailing Tobit Model

Erik Petrovski

Charitable giving involves two seemingly distinct decisions: whether to give and how much to give. However, many researchers methodologically assume that these decisions are one and the same. The present study supports the argument that this is an incorrect assumption which is likely to generate misleading conclusions, in part, since the second decision is much more financial in nature than the first. The argument that charitable giving entails two distinct decisions is validated by empirically dismissing the prevailing Tobit model, which assumes a single decision, in favor of less restrictive two-stage approaches: Cragg's model and the Heckman model. Most importantly, it is shown that only by adopting a two-stage approach may it be uncovered that common determinants of charitable giving such as income and gender affect the two decisions at hand very differently. Data comes from a high-quality 2012 Danish survey and administrative registers.

Keywords: Charitable giving, Tobit, Cragg, Heckman, Income, Gender.

Introduction

Determinants of charitable giving are numerous and diverse. But very broadly speaking, most can be grouped into financial resources required to make donations or social roles and norms that guide individual preferences towards donating (Andreoni 2006; Vesterlund 2006). Many studies have been done on how these specific determinants relate to charitable giving (Bekkers and Wiepking 2010; Sargeant and Woodliffe 2007; Vesterlund 2006). And although it is not always the case, some studies even recognize that it may be relevant to learn whether these determinants are important both when individuals decide whether to give and decide how much to give (e.g. Amankwaa and Devlin 2016; Andreoni et al. 2003; Lyons and Nivison-Smith 2016; Mesch et al. 2011; Wiepking and Handy 2015).

However, in a largely technically focused paper, Forbes and Zampelli have recently shown that even though the distinction between whether and how much to give is sometimes made conceptually, many researchers do not accommodate for this distinction methodologically (Forbes and Zampelli 2011). The authors show that researchers often—and likely without being aware of it—rely on an econometric model, the Tobit model, which restricts the decisions of whether to give and how much to give

to be one and the same, thereby obscuring results that would make it possible to distinguish between the two decisions at hand (Forbes and Zampelli 2011; 2014). In spite of this important insight, the 2011 study by Forbes and Zampelli has currently received few citations and the Tobit model remains the model of choice in many recent studies on charitable giving—often without more suitable models being explicitly considered (e.g. Brown et al. 2016; Wiepking and Handy 2015; Kim and Kou 2014; Naeem and Zaman 2015; Kou et al. 2014).

The main purpose of this article is to restate the largely technical argument of Forbes and Zampelli (2011) in a manner that may make this argument more pertinent to researchers on charitable giving. This is done by making the case that treating charitable giving as a decision made in two stages is necessary for gaining a correct understanding of how specific determinants that are central to the research literature—such as income and gender—affect charitable giving.

In the present article, a general theoretical account of charitable giving is first outlined in order to explicitly highlight and conceptualize the two distinct decisions that may be involved. Specifically, it is argued that the decision to give to charity is a qualitative decision of whether to engage in a particular prosocial practice. If this decision is not rejected, a subsequent allocative decision of how much to give is then made in which individuals settle on a desired quantity, given their financial constraints.

Then, the methodological framework from Forbes and Zampelli (2011 & 2014) is explained and applied. In addition to the prevailing Tobit model, the two-stage alternatives, Cragg's model and the Heckman model, which allow for the two decisions to be distinct, are estimated. The high-quality 2012 Danish Volunteer Survey (n=2,809), which is a representative survey linked to administrative registers on income and education, is used. Due to the far superior fit of the two-stage models on the data at hand, it is concluded empirically that the assumption of the Tobit model, that charitable giving contains just one decision, is false.

Finally, it is shown that choosing an appropriate econometric model is not simply a technicality but has severe consequences for how to understand charitable giving. In the two-stage models, it is found that financial resources are largely irrelevant for whether one gives but strongly related to how much one gives. It is also found that women are more likely to give to charity but give less than men. However, none of these results emerge in the Tobit model which instead provides several false conclusions.

This article has important implications for future research on charitable giving. First, it confirms previous studies that warn researchers not to rely on the prevailing Tobit model but consider less restrictive two-stage alternatives for estimating prosocial activities (Forbes and Zampelli 2011; 2014; Qvist 2015; D. A. Smith and Brame 2003; Jones and Posnett 1991). Second, its findings point towards specific new avenues of exploration into the contrasting effects of well-known determinants, such as financial resources and gender, on the decisions of whether and how much to give.

A General Theory of Charitable Giving

Engaging in charitable giving entails giving away private income for the benefit of nonprofit organizations who will in turn serve other individuals or pursue causes for the benefit of a larger community (Bekkers and Wiepking 2010). Charitable giving is therefore a clear example of what social researchers term “prosocial” behavior, that is, activities that are costly to ourselves and mostly beneficial to others (Wittek and Bekkers 2015). Expanding upon this conventional classification of charitable giving makes it possible to derive the basic foundations for a general theory of what may influence individuals’ decision to give to charity. In this theory, the following is highlighted: (1) resources required to make donations and (2) social roles and norms that guide individual preferences towards donating.

First, since charitable giving involves the transfer of varying amounts of private funds to a nonprofit organization, it is fundamentally a financial decision. Naturally, it should be expected that personal financial resources are important in the decision process as individuals with more financial means and security should be able to spare more money for non-essential expenses such as charity (List 2011). This expectation has been confirmed in several empirical studies, primarily conducted by economists focused on relating size of income, wealth, and financial security to charitable giving (Auten et al. 2002; James and Sharpe 2007; List 2011; McClelland 2004).

Secondly, since giving money for charity means that one chooses to endure a personal expense that primarily benefits others, it cannot solely be contributed to the pure self-interest that is often assumed to guide financial decisions. This is not to say that pure altruism is required either since individuals may certainly benefit themselves to some degree from charitable giving through a good conscious, reputation and so on. But it is fair to assume some degree of altruism rather than pure self-interest—so-called *impure altruism* (Andreoni 1990). It therefore makes sense to expect that social determinants such as social norms and roles may apply in order to constrain pure self-interest to some degree and thereby guide individuals’ preferences towards prosocial activities such as making charitable donations (Andreoni 2006; Vesterlund 2006). This expectation has likewise been supported in several empirical studies, primarily conducted by sociologists and social psychologists, that have identified key social determinants that, for various reasons, encourage charitable giving (Bekkers and Wiepking 2010; Brown and Ferris 2007; Einolf 2011; Sokolowski 1996).

Charitable Giving as a Two-Stage Decision Process

The fundamental theoretical explanation for charitable giving outlined above briefly summarizes what has been argued across disciplines by many researchers in the field. It furthermore reflects a potential shortcoming, which is often encountered in the literature, namely that it has not explicitly distinguished between the decisions of whether to give and how much to give. Yet, it is likely to be the case that individuals first consider the qualitative decision of whether to give to charity and then settle on a

monetary quantity they wish to give (Amankwaa and Devlin 2016; Forbes and Zampelli 2011; Micklewright and Schnepf 2007; V. H. Smith et al. 1995). Distinguishing between these two decisions may be important due to the fact that they are not identical in nature and therefore cannot be expected to be influenced in the same way by the same theoretically specified determinants.

The notion that charitable giving comprises two decisions and not one may become clearer when one considers the typical opportunity to give to charity more closely. When individuals are faced with an opportunity to make a charitable donation, they are not likely to be presented with a singular amount to give away. It is simply not common practice for solicitors to, for example, ask potential donors whether they can spare exactly 20 or zero dollars for cancer research. Neither does it seem likely that individuals have already decided how much they will give before they even consider whether to give to charity at all. Admittedly, it is reasonable to assume that there may be some socially accepted lower bound on the size of the donation that needs to be met. Yet, for the vast majority of every-day charitable giving this threshold can be expected to be financially insignificant (Wiepking 2007).

In summary, it is therefore likely that we are initially simply presented with the opportunity to give to a certain charity or not and if we do not deny this request we may *then* consider exactly how much to give away.

In the *first* stage, when deciding *whether* to give, financial resources should play a less decisive role since the amount has not been fully considered yet and one should be permitted to give away what people in most income groups would consider a trivial figure (Kirchgässner 1992; V. H. Smith et al. 1995; Wiepking 2007). Instead of financial resources playing a decisive role, social roles and norms should prove to be a much more important determinants since some individuals feel more obliged to comply with a donation request or seek out an opportunity to give. If this is true, one could say that the group who chooses to give to charity are a selected group primarily on the basis of a socially guided preference for charitable giving (Kirchgässner 1992; 2010).

For this select group, a *second* stage becomes relevant, the decision of exactly *how much* to give. This second decision may then be where individuals are finally forced to closely consider the extent of their preferences for giving to charity as well as the exact costs that such a donation will inflict upon them (Kirchgässner 1992; 2010). Therefore, this second decision of how much to give takes the clear form of an allocative decision to distribute private finances for a primarily public benefit, made under the constraints of limited financial resources (Vesterlund 2006). Therefore, both financial means and one's socially guided preference for charitable giving become central.

Data

The data utilized in this study comes from the 2012 Danish Volunteer Survey (Fridberg & Henriksen 2014) and official administrative registers. The survey was conducted by the Danish National Centre for Social Research in cooperation with the University of

Aalborg, the University of Southern Denmark, and Roskilde University. The register data was made available by Statistics Denmark and The Centre for Survey and Survey/Register Data.

The survey is a representative sample of (n=2,809) individuals living in Denmark, between the ages of 16 and 85. Survey respondents were chosen randomly from the Danish Civil Registration System (CRS), which is an administrative register that contains information on all individuals who are legally residing in Denmark. The data collection was conducted at the end of 2012 and primarily as interviews over the phone with the option to opt in for a face-to-face meeting. The response rate is 67 %. Due to survey respondents being chosen from the CRS, they are identified by their Personal Identification Number. This number was used to link respondents with data on income and education from administrative registers at Statistics Denmark.

Dependent variable

Size of charitable donation. Respondents were asked whether and how much they had *personally* donated to nonprofit organizations within the last 12 months¹. This study therefore concerns individual giving and not household giving. The questioning on charitable giving was particularly thorough since respondents were asked to specify whether and how much they had donated on each of 14 different nonprofit sector domains. When examining these domains closer, it is found that 94 % of giving in Denmark is for secular purposes (Taxhjelm 2014).

The distribution of the dependent variables shows that 71 % of all respondents had made a charitable donation. When looking at the size of yearly donations for individuals that had actually donated, it becomes clear that although the top yearly donation was \$15,000², the vast majority of donors make relatively small yearly donations with a median donation of just \$100 in a year.

The resulting distribution is therefore strongly right-skewed with many extreme observations. In order to reduce the leverage of extreme observations, the logarithmic transformation of the dependent variable is used in the following analysis. For more detail on the pre and post log-transformed distribution see appendix 1. An important consequence of the log-transformation of the dependent variable for the subsequent analysis is that coefficient may only be interpreted as percentage increases and not increases in absolute values.

Independent Variables

Independent variables are grouped within three categories: financial resources, social norms and roles, and controls.

Financial resources

Income (register). A measure of total yearly income in 2012 has been used in order to approximate the financial resources of individuals. The measure consists of a total of wages, business income, capital income, social welfare transfers, pensions, and other cash income which may be attributed directly to private individuals. The income measure does not include the potential value of assets such as stocks, real-estate, and home possessions. The source of the income measure is the tax agency records, which retrieves information from employers, government agencies, banks, and other private institutions that are required by law to report income on private individuals.

The income variable was coded as a six-category ordinal income variable. Recoding the income variable was done in order to accommodate for a non-linear relationship between income and charitable giving. Recoding the variable furthermore makes it possible to easily highlight the effect of income on charitable giving for specific income groups.

Social Roles and Norms

Relevant social roles and norms for charitable giving are any moral and social constraints that counter pure self-interest in order to encourage prosocial behavior (Batson and Powell 2003; Lee et al. 1999). Focus is on a few key social behavioral and normative measures that are commonly found within sociological and socio-psychological research on charitable giving: social networks, generalized trust, religion, gender, and education (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011).

Social networks. Socio-psychologists have shown that the ability to and interest in making new friends and acquaintances as well as continuously exert effort for maintaining such relationships is contingent upon empathic concern (Graziano et al. 2007; Twenge et al. 2007). Conversely, social exclusion is associated with a loss of the ability to feel empathic concern (Bekkers and Wiepking 2010). Since empathic concern is clearly an important motivator for making charitable donations, extent of social networks may be an important predictor of giving and giving more (Wiepking and Maas 2009).

To measure social networks, I constructed an index of six items measuring contact with (1) family, (2) neighbors, (3) friends, (4) current colleagues, (5) former colleagues, and (6) others. Each item measures how often individuals indicate that they are in contact with one of the above groups on a five-point ordinal scale ranging from “every day” to “no contact”. The index is an average of the six items.

Generalized trust. Some socio-psychologists argue that generalized trust rests on a fundamentally positive belief in the good nature of strangers (Uslaner 2008). Uslaner observes that: “*Giving to charity [...] involves helping people who are different from yourself.*” (Uslaner 2002:138). Therefore, the positive view of others is theorized to be an important reason why individuals who hold generalized trust are more willing to lend a helping hand to what is believed to be fellow good-natured individuals through

charitable donations as well as numerous other prosocial activities (Evers and Gesthuizen 2011; Uslaner 2001; 2005; Wang and Graddy 2008).

I measure trust with the standard question on trust, which in the English version reads: *“Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people”* and is answered on an 11-point scale, where 0 is *“you can’t be too careful”* and 10 is *“most people are trustworthy”*.

Religion. Religion leads individuals to connect strongly with co-religionists but also humanity in general through social norms of neighborly love (Wuthnow 1995). Both in-group and out-group solidarity may therefore explain the increased donations of religious individuals as religious persons are expected to follow social norms of charity and a belief in the essential good of mankind that make them more frequent and generous givers to both religious and non-religious causes (Bekkers and Wiepking 2010). This association differs somewhat between denominations but seems to hold up for mainline protestants, which Danes are by far most likely to be (Bekkers and Schuyt 2008).

Respondents were asked to rate how important religion is in their lives on a 4-point ordinal scale ranging from not important at all to very important.

Gender. Even in the most gender-equal of western societies, women are raised and continuously expected to put more emphasis on caring for others (Mesch et al. 2011). Thus, the link between a female gender role and increased charitable giving seems straightforward. However, the majority of studies do find a significant link between gender and giving, in which women are more likely to give but give less (Wiepking and Bekkers 2012). It may be argued that the reason why men give more than women is due to the fact that a desire to signal social status influences the donations of men more than women and therefore leads men to outdo women when they give (Kottasz 2004). I therefore expect women to have a higher propensity for charitable giving and men to be more generous givers.

Gender is measured with a dummy variable with (1) female and (0) male.

Education (register). Education ties in with prosociality because education increases our knowledge of political, social, and community issues, thereby positively impacting our values towards contributing to nonprofits that work within these fields through charitable giving (Brand 2010; Sunshine Hillygus 2005).

Education is measured as a scale variable that express the nominal length in full years from the 1st grade to the highest educational degree successfully earned. For instance, a person with a Danish Ph.D. degree has passed school (9 years) + high school (3 years) + undergraduate school (3 years) + graduate school (2 years) + doctoral school (3 years), which is equal to 20 years of schooling. Data is compiled from educational institutions, the Ministry of Education, and other relevant institutions.

Controls

Several controls that are commonly used in studies of charitable giving are employed.

Marital status was measured with a dummy variable that indicates whether the individual was married or living in a civil union. Individuals who are single, divorced or widowers were coded as zero.

Confidence in nonprofits measures whether the respondent agrees with the following statement: “*You do not give charity because everything goes towards administration.*” and is answered on a five-point ordinal scale ranging from “*completely agree*” to “*completely disagree*”.

Age is a continuous variable measured in full years.

Rural indicates whether the respondent lives outside of a major populated area (1) or not (0).

Children is a binary variable that indicates whether the respondent has children under the age of 18 living at home (1) or not (0).

Descriptive statistics

A descriptive summary of the data is provided in table I.

Variable	Data source	Range	Mean		
			full sample	y=0	y>0
Financial Resources:					
\$0-\$20,000	R	0-1	0.13	0.22	0.09
\$20,000 - \$35,000	R	0-1	0.21	0.23	0.20
\$35,000 - \$50,000	R	0-1	0.20	0.20	0.20
\$50,000 - \$65,000	R	0-1	0.20	0.16	0.21
\$65,000 - \$80,000	R	0-1	0.13	0.10	0.15
\$80,000 -	R	0-1	0.14	0.09	0.15
Social Roles and Norms:					
Social Networks	S	0-4	2.43	2.36	2.46
Trust	S	0-10	6.93	6.54	7.09
Religiosity	S	0-3	0.80	0.67	0.86
Female	S	0-1	0.53	0.49	0.56
Education	R	7-21	13.67	13.07	13.91
Controls:					
Married	S	0-1	0.53	0.42	0.58
Confidence in nonprofits	S	0-4	2.31	1.90	2.47
Age	S	16-86	47.59	43.22	49.37
Rural	S	0-1	0.25	0.26	0.25
Children	S	0-1	0.34	0.30	0.36

(Data source: R = Administrative Register, S = Survey), (full sample valid n=2,760, valid n=794 for y=0, valid n=1,966 for y>0)

Methodology

The dependent variable for this study is the monetary value of charitable giving within the past year. Since a sizeable share (29 %) of respondents have not given to charity within the past year, they contribute with a non-trivial share of observations at zero to the distribution of the dependent variable (y). The dependent variable can therefore be regarded as a corner solution with a corner at y=0, which contains everyone who had

not donated, and a continuous distribution along $y > 0$, which contains everyone who had donated some amount (Wooldridge 2010).

To deal with this corner solution dependent variable, which arises in charitable giving data, researchers most often apply a Tobit model. The Tobit model treats any given value of y as a realization of a latent variable y^* , where the observed value of y will be positive whenever the latent variable y^* crosses a specified threshold, which in this case is zero (Tobin 1958). The Tobit model can be written as:

$$y^* = x\beta + u$$

$$y = \begin{cases} y^* & \text{if } y^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } y^* \leq 0 \end{cases}$$

where x is a vector of independent variables and u is the error term.

Essentially, the Tobit model estimates a single decision of how much an individual is willing to give (y^*) and if this value is larger than zero an individual gives some amount—if not, an individual does not give (Wooldridge 2010). The relevant marginal effects of determinants on whether an individual gives [$P(y > 0 \mid x)$] and how much an individual gives, if they give [$E(y \mid y > 0, x)$] can then be derived from the model (Roncek 1992)⁴.

The problem with applying the Tobit model on charitable giving stems from the fact that the actual decisions of whether and how much to give are simultaneously estimated as a single decision, *resulting from only one stochastic process*. As a consequence, the potential separate decisions of whether and how much to give are restricted to be influenced in exactly the same way by the same independent variables³ (Cragg 1971; Forbes and Zampelli 2011; Qvist 2015; D. A. Smith and Brame 2003; Wooldridge 2010). If the theoretical argument of this paper is correct—that the decisions of whether and how much to give are two dissimilar decisions and therefore influenced differently by different determinants—then this restrictive assumption should not be legitimized.

A two-stage model, such as Cragg's model, should in this case be a more appropriate estimation technique. In fact, this model was introduced in the early 1970s as a flexible alternative to the Tobit model, by allowing for separate decision-making (Burke 2009; Cragg 1971). And at least as far back as Jones and Posnett (1991), it has been suggested that a less restrictive two-stage approach—such as Cragg's model—may be preferable to the Tobit model in relation to charitable giving.

Cragg's model functions by *first* estimating the probability of making a donation and *then* the amount given for individuals who actually make a donation (Cragg 1971). The first stage of the model, known as the selection equation, is a common probit model which estimates the probability of $y > 0$. This selection equation can be written as:

$$Pr(y > 0 \mid x) = \Phi(x_1\beta_1 + u_1)$$

where $Pr()$ denotes probability and $\Phi()$ is the Cumulative Distribution Function (CDF) of the standard normal distribution.

The second stage, known as the regression equation, is—in the case that log transformations (\ln) of the dependent variable are used—an OLS model⁴ of the generic form:

$$\ln(y) = x_2\beta_2 + u_2, y > 0$$

Since Cragg's model is estimated in two separate stages, there is no reason for the independent variables in the selection and regression equations to have any uniform impact on the dependent variable. In fact, x_1 does not need to equal x_2 and different pairs of variables can therefore be used in the two stages of the model.

Cragg's model is an improvement on the Tobit model on the grounds of flexibility. But its assumption that the two decisions are conditionally independent, as long as observable determinants have been controlled for, may be inappropriate. This is the case in a likely scenario where individuals who are more likely to give more select into the sample for which a donation is observed on the grounds of unobserved determinants. This constitutes a form of selection bias, which may be thought of as an omitted variable problem—something which is well-known to bias coefficients (Wooldridge 2010, Heckman 1979).

To address this issue, another two-stage approach, the Heckman model may be applied. This model relaxes the assumption of uncorrelated error terms and calculates a correction term known as the inverse Mills ratio in order to correct for selection bias (Heckman 1979; Puhani 2000). Importantly, the Heckman model stills allows for two stochastic processes to determine whether and how much to give and therefore provides the flexibility that is desired from Cragg's model⁵. The two stages of the Heckman model can be written as:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Selection equation:} \quad y_1 &= \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y_1^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } y_1^* \leq 0 \end{cases} \\ \text{Regression equation:} \quad y_2 &= \begin{cases} y_2^* & \text{if } y_1^* > 0 \\ - & \text{if } y_1^* \leq 0 \end{cases} \end{aligned}$$

where — indicates that y_2 does not have to assume a meaningful value, when $y_1^* < 0$. This means that y_2^* is only observed when $y_1^* > 0$. The equation for the latent variable may be written as:

$$\begin{aligned} y_1^* &= x_1\beta_1 + u_1 \\ y_2^* &= x_2\beta_2 + u_2 \end{aligned}$$

where it is assumed that u_1 and u_2 are correlated. Furthermore, the equation rests on the assumption that the error terms are bivariate normally distributed, which legitimizes that the selection equation is estimated by maximum likelihood:

$$\begin{pmatrix} u_1 \\ u_2 \end{pmatrix} \sim BN \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} 1 & \rho\sigma \\ \rho\sigma & \sigma^2 \end{pmatrix}$$

The correlation between error terms is expressed by the correlation coefficient, ρ . If $\rho \neq 0$, it is indicated that the error terms are correlated and selection bias needs to be taken into account.

The main issue with the Heckman model is that in order for the model to effectively correct for selection bias, an instrumental variable should be provided. This means that there should be a variable present with a non-zero coefficient in the selection equation that is excluded from the regression equation on theoretical grounds (Puhani 2000). If valid instruments cannot be found—which is the case in this and virtually all other studies on charitable giving—it is recommended to estimate the model with maximum likelihood but without an instrument, rather than choose one ad hoc (Norton et al. 2008)⁶.

Models

To empirically determine whether charitable giving consists of one or two decision, a Tobit model, Cragg's model, and a Heckman model (using maximum likelihood) are estimated with the same set of explanatory variables and on the same data. These results are shown in table II.

The most appropriate model should have the best fit to the data, i.e. it needs to be the best model for explaining the actual distribution of the data at hand. To determine the best fit, the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC)⁷ are used. These are goodness of fit measures that are capable of taking the difference in complexity of the models into account by reducing the value of fit based on the amount of free parameters that each model needs to estimate. The AIC and BIC are therefore suited for comparisons of goodness of fit across models that are non-nested—i.e. models that are not simply reduced forms of each other (see Schwarz 1978).

A further point of interest is a comparison of the effects of the different determinants on charitable giving as estimated by the three models. To make these comparable across models, average marginal effects (AME) on the decision of whether to give are provided in table II under the column labelled “probability of giving”. And the conditional AME on the decision of how much to give for individuals who actually give have furthermore been provided in table II in the column labelled “amount given”. The raw coefficients for the three models are included in appendix 2.

Table II. Model comparison of Tobit, Cragg's and the Heckman model with marginal effects reported

	Model 1: Tobit		Model 2: Cragg's		Model 3: Heckman	
	Probability of giving (y=0 or y>0)	Amount given (y y>0)	Probability of giving (y=0 or y>0)	Amount given (y y>0)	Probability of giving (y=0 or y>0)	Amount given (y y>0)
Financial Resources:						
\$0-\$20,000	-0.129*** (0.024)	-0.898*** (0.163)	-0.166*** (0.040)	-0.401** (0.138)	-0.166*** (0.039)	-0.687*** (0.146)
\$20,000 - \$35,000	-0.060*** (0.018)	-0.488** (0.149)	-0.055 (0.032)	-0.545*** (0.113)	-0.054 (0.031)	-0.608*** (0.121)
\$35,000 - \$50,000	-0.056*** (0.017)	-0.457** (0.140)	-0.053 (0.031)	-0.468*** (0.104)	-0.059 (0.030)	-0.528*** (0.113)
\$50,000 - \$65,000	-0.024 (0.015)	-0.217 (0.138)	0.002 (0.029)	-0.442*** (0.100)	0.001 (0.028)	-0.415*** (0.109)
\$65,000 - \$80,000	-0.027 (0.016)	-0.239 (0.146)	-0.012 (0.031)	-0.375*** (0.106)	-0.017 (0.031)	-0.373** (0.115)
\$80,000 - (ref.)						
Social Roles and Norms:						
Social Networks	0.047*** (0.009)	0.348*** (0.064)	0.046*** (0.014)	0.325*** (0.052)	0.050*** (0.014)	0.382*** (0.054)
Trust	0.009*** (0.003)	0.064*** (0.019)	0.010* (0.004)	0.050** (0.016)	0.009* (0.004)	0.065*** (0.017)
Religiosity	0.035*** (0.006)	0.258*** (0.043)	0.036*** (0.010)	0.254*** (0.034)	0.043*** (0.010)	0.288*** (0.036)
Female	0.009 (0.010)	0.065 (0.074)	0.051** (0.017)	-0.309*** (0.060)	0.039* (0.016)	-0.197** (0.063)
Education	0.007** (0.002)	0.049** (0.015)	0.008* (0.003)	0.035** (0.012)	0.007* (0.003)	0.046*** (0.013)
Controls:						
Married	0.036** (0.012)	0.265** (0.084)	0.054** (0.020)	0.094 (0.067)	0.048* (0.019)	0.183* (0.071)
Confidence in nonprofits	0.035*** (0.003)	0.262*** (0.025)	0.049*** (0.006)	0.118*** (0.021)	0.049*** (0.005)	0.195*** (0.022)
Age	0.003*** (0.000)	0.024*** (0.003)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.024*** (0.002)
Rural	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.093 (0.084)	-0.020 (0.019)	-0.035 (0.068)	-0.019 (0.019)	-0.066 (0.072)
Children	0.005 (0.012)	0.035 (0.090)	-0.010 (0.020)	0.111 (0.072)	0.000 (0.020)	0.096 (0.076)
p						0.77***
log-likelihood		-5.677		-4.773		-4.763
AIC		11.388		9.612		9.594
BIC		11.489		9.807		9.795
df		17		33		34
valid n		2,760		2,760		2,760

Notes:*** = p<0.001, ** =p<0.01, * =p<0.05. For the two-stage models, the "Probability of giving" column is whether individuals give and the "Amount given" column is how much individuals give if they give. For all models, a log transformed dependent variable is used. Average Marginal Effects (ame) represent percentage changes in the dependent variable, for each single unit change in the independent variable. The log-likelihood, AIC, and BIC are the goodness of fit measures.

Results: Model Comparison

To determine whether charitable giving is empirically best described as one or two decisions, the goodness of fit measures (AIC & BIC) are compared between the Tobit model (model 1 in table II, which assumes a single decision) and the two-stage approaches (model 2 & 3 in table II, which assume two decisions). This comparison overwhelmingly favors the two-stage approaches: $AIC_{\text{Tobit-Cragg's}}=1,777$ and $AIC_{\text{Tobit-Heckman}}=1,795$ plus $BIC_{\text{Tobit-Cragg's}}=1,682$ and $BIC_{\text{Tobit-Heckman}}=1,694$. It must therefore be concluded that the two less parsimonious two-stage alternatives are *far* better estimation techniques for the data at hand. Consequentially, it is legitimate to empirically reject the Tobit model and explain the two decisions (whether and how much to give) as resulting from two distinct stochastic processes, influenced differently

by different determinants. This is done in the remainder of the results section. In this section, estimates from the two-stage models will furthermore be compared with estimates obtained from the, in this case, *inappropriate* Tobit model in order to highlight the new insight that can be drawn from the less restrictive two-stage approaches.

But before proceeding with the interpretation of the coefficients, it should also be determined whether selection bias is present. This may, in part, be discovered by comparing the goodness of fit statistics (AIC & BIC) between Cragg's model (which assumes uncorrelated decisions) and the Heckman model (which assumes correlated decisions). This comparison yields the following results: $BIC_{\text{Cragg-Heckman}}=12$ and $AIC_{\text{Cragg-Heckman}}=18$, in favor of the Heckman model. As a rule of thumb, changes in BIC over 10 can be considered "very strong evidence" against the model with the highest BIC (Kass and Raftery 1995). The difference in AIC may be conceptualized by using the formula $e^{((AIC_{\text{Heckman}} - AIC_{\text{Cragg}})/2)}$, which calculates how probable it is that the model with the highest AIC minimizes information loss. The resulting statistic shows that Cragg's model is 0.0001 times as probable to be the best fitting model (*i.e. minimize information loss*) compared to the Heckman model (Burnham & Anderson 2002). Clearly, the Heckman model has the best fit. Furthermore, we should notice that the Heckman model provides a large and highly statistically significant correlation coefficient ($\rho=0.77^{***}$), which indicates selection bias. Based on these results, the Heckman model is therefore most likely to be the most appropriate of the two-stage models in this application.

Conceptually, the significant correlation coefficient and increased fit of the Heckman model reveals that individuals with increased preferences for making large charitable donations select into the group of charitable givers on grounds that have not been controlled for in this study. So while Cragg's model correctly describes the data, based on the variables that are available, some coefficients seem to have been biased by omitted variables. The omitted variable bias may be corrected for by the Heckman model. In the remainder of the results section, the main conclusions are based on the Heckman model.

However, one is advised to exert caution when relying on estimates from a Heckman model without the required instrument since these estimates may not be robust (Norton et al. 2008; Puhani 2000; Wooldridge 2010). Appropriate caution will therefore be exerted regarding the Heckman model estimates by confirming estimates from the Heckman model with those of Cragg's model in order to show much correction for selection bias in the Heckman model has changed estimates for some variables and reveal to the reader whether this correction is reasonable.

Results: Coefficients

Income. The two-stage models both show that for income groups who make above \$20,000 per year, which is almost 90 % of all individuals in the sample, there is no

significant effect of income on whether to give. Only the very lowest income group—those who are living at a minimum sustenance level of less than \$20,000 per year—has a significantly smaller tendency to give when compared with top income earners who make more than \$80,000 per year. It may be hard to imagine why any income level, no matter how low, should hinder individuals from contributing just a few dollars to charity. However, it may be that individuals who live at an absolute minimum sustenance level are simply too worried about their financial situation to meet the low minimum donation that may be expected of charitable givers, thereby discouraging them from engaging in charity at all (Wiepking and Breeze 2011).

Concerning how much individuals give, both two-stage models show that there is a positive and generally highly significant influence of income on the decision of how much to give for all income groups. Looking closer at the relationship between income and how much individuals give, it is found that the amount of charitable giving rises with income albeit at a rate less than one—meaning that charitable giving is income inelastic. This result is also found in (James and Sharpe 2007; McClelland 2004; Vesterlund 2006).

Overall, the findings on income are in alignment with my general theoretical expectations: Financial resources clearly enable individuals to give more but are less important in the decision of whether to give. These findings reveal that the second decision of how much to give is much more financial in nature than the first decision of whether to give.

This overall result has been confirmed by Smith et al. in a US study of charitable contributions to a rural health care facility. The authors find that household income had no significant impact on whether individuals give but a highly significant impact on how much they give (D. H. Smith 1994). The finding that income does not affect whether to give was furthermore confirmed by Wiepking in a recent Dutch study, likewise conducted on household data (Wiepking and Bekkers 2015).

On a methodological note, one should notice that since income is less important for the first decision of whether to give—especially in the middle and higher income range—a large part of the significant effect of income on charitable giving is lost in the Tobit model. Specifically, the Tobit does not provide significant results for the two income groups above \$50,000.

An additional methodological point regarding the income variable is that assuming non-linearity of the income variable was a correct assumption. This is well-known for the decision of how much to give (James and Sharpe 2007; McClelland 2004; Vesterlund 2006). However, this finding is of equal interest when studying the probability of giving, where the inclusion of a linear income measure in the two-stage models would likely have shown a significant effect of income on whether to give but it would not have been possible to show that this effect is only valid for the absolute bottom of the income spectra.

Gender. Results from Cragg's model show that even after controlling for confounding factors, women are 5 % more likely to give when compared to men but give 31% less on average—this result is medium to highly significant in both stages. The Heckman model generally confirms this result, although the coefficient for women on the decision of how much to give drops to 20 %. This indicates that particularly high giving men self-select into the sample of givers on the grounds of unobserved confounding factors.

Based on this result, one possible explanation is that the social expectations of women to act in accordance with a prosocial gender role makes it more likely for them to comply when asked for a donation, even when they have lower preferences for contributing to a particular charitable cause or financial resources to do so—they are therefore less willing or able to endure significant financial costs. However, since men are generally less likely to be expected to give, a self-selection of men with increased preferences for charitable giving, on average, make up the group of charitable givers.

The gender variable is furthermore of substantial methodological interest. Because women have a positive propensity to give, the Tobit model forces the regression coefficient for women to be positive—even though the dependent variable is total amount given (See Cragg 1971; Forbes and Zampelli 2011; D. A. Smith and Brame 2003)! The two-stage models, however, both clearly show that this is false.

This is unfortunately a very serious problem for researchers who apply the Tobit model even when they have theoretical expectations of independent decisions. Specifically in the study of gender and charitable giving, this issue seems to be wide spread since researchers are often theoretically open to the possibility that women are more likely to give but may give less than men. Yet, these researchers still rely on the Tobit model, which does not actually accommodate for this possibility (e.g. Brown et al. 2016; Mesch et al. 2011). If it is indeed true that women are more likely to give, it is nearly impossible for researchers that rely on the Tobit model to derive at any other conclusion than the one that women must also give more—simply due to the econometric model of choice. This is possibly the reason why studies that apply an appropriate two-stage model generally find that women are more likely to give but give less (e.g. Bekkers 2004; Forbes and Zampelli 2011⁸; Lyons and Nivison-Smith 2016; Sokolowski 1996), whereas studies that apply a Tobit model find that women are more likely to give and give more (e.g. Brown et al. 2016; Einolf 2011; Mesch et al. 2011; 2006; Naeem and Zaman 2015; Wiepking and Bekkers 2015).

Religiosity, trust, social networks & education. Religious belief has a highly significant effect on both the propensity to give and how much is given. So does an individual's level of generalized trust as well as the extent of one's social networks. I furthermore find a significant impact of education on both whether and how much individuals give. This is important since it has been argued that it is not because highly educated individuals are more prosocially oriented that they are more generous but because they have more financial resources (Wiepking and Maas 2009). However, since

I find that education is important for both decisions it seems that education may in this regard indeed be a measure of prosocial attitudes.

Limitations

Like most studies on charitable giving, this study is confined to a single national context—and this naturally carries concern for whether specific findings may be generalized. In the results section, the findings from this study have therefore been confirmed with findings from other studies from multiple national contexts. Yet in one important regard, the Danish context may indeed affect the results. Denmark has limited tax deductions on charitable giving (no more than \$2,500), a culture of small donations made through national fund-drives, and a progressive tax system that limits the disposable income of the wealthy. This means that there is relatively little variance in the amount given across income groups. Particularly in other countries with large tax deductions and a culture of philanthropy, such as the United States, one should therefore expect to find a much bigger effect of income on how *much* individuals give than was uncovered in this study.

A second limitation of this study is that differences between subdomains have not been considered. Several studies on charitable giving make the case for estimating the effects of individual characteristics on charitable giving across specific subdomains: Such as religious and non-religious giving (e.g. Amankwaa and Devlin 2016; Wiepking and Bekkers 2015), domestic and international giving (e.g. Amankwaa and Devlin 2016; Micklewright and Schnepf 2007), and many more domains (e.g. Chang 2006). This study has not looked at whether results hold up for all subdomains and this naturally imposes limitations. However, the purpose of this study was not to discover differences between subdomains but focus on charitable giving in general and should therefore be regarded as such.

A third and final limitation is that data is on individual and not household giving. The problem is that since charitable giving could be regarded as a joint decision, married individuals may pool their donations (Andreoni et al. 2003). Marital status is included as a control and it seems that there is indeed a small positive effect of marriage on amount given (table II), suggesting that married individuals give from a joint income pool. However, married individuals only give 18 % more according to the Heckman model so the effect is found to be quite small and a joint model for married and unmarried individuals is therefore not entirely unjustified in this case. Yet other studies may certainly want to look more into the differences in determinants of charitable giving for married and unmarried individuals.

Conclusion

Each charitable donation contains two distinct decisions: (1) *whether to give*, in which one considers whether to bring benefit to others, and (2) *how much to give*, in which

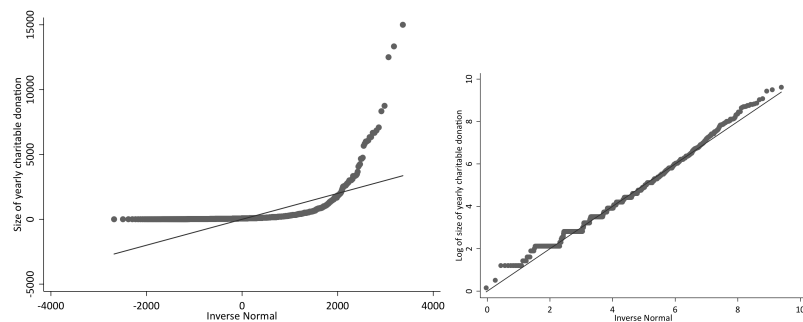
one considers exactly how many financial recourses one is able and willing to exert in order to do so. Rejecting the Tobit model and applying the two-stage alternatives, the Heckman Model and Cragg's model, was key in uncovering the distinctiveness and nature of these two decisions. It was shown that the decision of how much to give is much more financial in nature than the decision of whether to give—since only the former decision was clearly determined by higher financial resources for most income groups. The two-stage models were also able to show that though many of the social norms and roles that are hypothesized to determine preferences for prosocial activities such as charitable giving positively affect both decisions, not all did. Specifically, it was found that women were more likely to give than men but gave less.

It was furthermore shown that none of the conclusions above would have been reached by simply applying the Tobit model since this model ignores the fact that the decisions to give and how much to give are not one and the same. In fact, the Tobit model provided the opposite of the correct conclusion in the case of the effect of gender. Since the Tobit model is the prevailing econometric estimation technique within the study of charitable giving, this study naturally carries some concern for the validity of findings from other studies on charitable giving.

For future research on charitable giving, this study urges researchers to consider the theoretical and empirical avenues of exploration into determinants that drive the two decisions in question. And in doing so, it is very important for researchers to consider two-stage alternatives to the Tobit model.

Appendix 1

The log-transformed distribution of the dependent variable is shown in the q-q plot on the right (figure 2). The log-transformed dependent variable much better approximates a straight line and therefore a normal distribution compared to the q-q plot on the left (figure 1), which shows the original distribution of the dependent variable (before log-transformation):



Appendix 2

Table IV. Model comparison of Tobit, Cragg's and the Heckman model with raw coefficient reported

	Model 1: Tobit		Model 2: Cragg's		Model 3: Heckman	
	Latent donation		Probability of giving	Amount given	Probability of giving	Amount given
	(y^*)		($y=0$ or $y>0$)	($y \mid y>0$)	($y=0$ or $y>0$)	($y \mid y>0$)
	β (se)		β (se)	β (se)	β (se)	β (se)
Financial Resources:						
\$0-\$20,000	-1.481*** (0.270)		-0.506*** (0.121)	-0.402** (0.139)	-0.504*** (0.118)	-0.715*** (0.153)
\$20,000 - \$35,000	-0.763*** (0.230)		-0.182 (0.107)	-0.547*** (0.113)	-0.178 (0.104)	-0.632*** (0.126)
\$35,000 - \$50,000	-0.711*** (0.215)		-0.176 (0.102)	-0.469*** (0.105)	-0.191 (0.099)	-0.547*** (0.116)
\$50,000 - \$65,000	-0.328 (0.208)		0.006 (0.101)	-0.443*** (0.100)	0.003 (0.098)	-0.429*** (0.112)
\$65,000 - \$80,000	-0.363 (0.221)		-0.042 (0.108)	-0.376*** (0.107)	-0.057 (0.104)	-0.385** (0.119)
<i>\$80,000 - (ref.)</i>						
Social Roles and Norms:						
Social Networks	0.562*** (0.103)		0.152*** (0.046)	0.326*** (0.052)	0.162*** (0.045)	0.401*** (0.057)
Trust	0.104*** (0.031)		0.034* (0.014)	0.050** (0.016)	0.031* (0.014)	0.068*** (0.017)
Religiosity	0.417*** (0.070)		0.116*** (0.033)	0.255*** (0.035)	0.140*** (0.033)	0.303*** (0.038)
Female	0.104 (0.119)		0.166** (0.054)	-0.311*** (0.060)	0.125* (0.053)	-0.207** (0.066)
Education	0.079** (0.024)		0.026* (0.011)	0.035** (0.012)	0.024* (0.011)	0.049*** (0.013)
Controls:						
Married	0.429** (0.136)		0.174** (0.063)	0.094 (0.068)	0.152* (0.061)	0.192* (0.075)
Confidence in nonprofits	0.422*** (0.041)		0.161*** (0.019)	0.119*** (0.021)	0.158*** (0.018)	0.204*** (0.024)
Age	0.039*** (0.004)		0.011*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.010*** (0.002)	0.026*** (0.003)
Rural	-0.151 (0.137)		-0.064 (0.062)	-0.036 (0.069)	-0.060 (0.060)	-0.069 (0.076)
Children	0.057 (0.144)		-0.032 (0.066)	0.112 (0.072)	0.001 (0.065)	0.100 (0.079)
Constant	-3.145*** (0.579)		-1.344*** (0.261)	2.068*** (0.295)	-1.259*** (0.257)	0.442 (0.348)
ρ					0.77***	
log-likelihood	-5677		-4773		-4763	
AIC	11389		9612		9594	
BIC	11489		9807		9795	
df	17		33		34	
n	2,760		2,760		2,760	

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Endnotes

1 The question was accompanied with a text which defined charitable giving to the respondent in the following manor: *“Now follows some questions on charitable giving. Charitable giving is when a monetary amount is given away in order to support an organization, association, foundation, or activities that are operated by one of the aforementioned. Charitable giving, regardless of the size of the amount, may be paid continuously, at fund drives, by SMS, or over the internet. Membership fees or not included in charitable giving. The acquisition of goods or services, e.g. secondhand clothes from a volunteer run secondhand store and money given to panhandlers are also not included.”*

2 An exchange rate of 6 DKK to 1 USD has been used.

3 One impact of this strong assumption is that a variable which, for example, has a negative impact on the first decision is not allowed to have a positive impact on the second decision (Cragg 1971).

4 A third marginal effect, which may be derived from the Tobit model, is on the average amount of giving from all individuals regardless of whether or not they give $E(y | x)$. Since the distinctiveness of the decisions of whether and how much to give is of interest to the present study, this marginal effect is not considered further.

5 Another difference between the two-stage models is that the Heckman model assumes first stage dominance and Cragg’s model does not. In other words, potential donors from the first stage cannot give zero in the second stage, according to the Heckman model, whereas they can, according to Cragg’s model (Forbes & Zampelli 2011).

6 For future studies, it is highly warranted to search for theoretically grounded exclusion criteria that will increase the applicability of the Heckman model within the study of charitable giving.

7 $AIC = -2\ln L + 2k$ and $BIC = -2\ln L + k \ln N$, where $\ln L$ is the maximized log-likelihood, k is the number of parameters estimated, and N is the sample size (Schwarz 1978).

8 Forbes and Zampelli (2011) find that women give less than men but they do not test whether women are more likely to give.